ISOLATIONISM REVISITED

THE NATION

SEPTEMBER 1, 1969 35 cents

UPSALA COLLEGE
LIBRARY
AUG 27 1969
EAST ORANGE, N. J. 07019

12-69R PL-9200
UPSALA COLLEGE LIBRARY
EAST ORANGE
NEW JERSEY 07019

Mayor Daley Solvent But Worried

DON ROSE and DAVID S. CANTER

The Hoover Institution COLD-WAR SCHOLARSHIP

PETER S. STERN

THEODORE ROSZAK on TECHNOCRACY

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LETTERS

design for living

Dover, N. J.

DEAR SIRS: Dr. Albert Kaplan (letter, *The Nation*, July 14) wonders: "If the New Left is not to copy the Russian model, or the Chinese—what blueprint or design *do* they have?" Dr. Kaplan goes on to ask, "If none, is it at all rational to proceed toward the destruction of a structure without any notion as to what is to replace it?"

Perhaps the New Left will follow the example of the American Revolution and the radicals who guided the colonies in their destruction of the English oppression, without a unified design to guide *them*. On July 1, 1776, John Dickinson of Pennsylvania delivered his last plea to the Continental Congress, imploring against a declaration of independence. He said in part:

> I affirm that prudent men do not abandon objects which are certain to go in pursuit of those which offer only uncertainty. Now, it is an established fact that America can be well and happily governed by the English laws, under the same king and the same Parliament. Two hundred years of happiness furnish the proof of it; and we find it also in the present prosperity, which is the result of these venerable laws and of this ancient union. It is not as independent, but as subjects; not as republic, but as monarchy, that we have arrived at this degree of power and of greatness. What then is the object of these chimeras, hatched in the days of discord and war? Shall the transports of fury have more power over us than the experience of ages? Shall we destroy, in a moment of anger, the work cemented and tested by time?

Do Dr. Kaplan's words sound like an updated version of Dickinson's? Were such sentiments ever so badly conceived or so ill-timed?

Leonard S. Amada

but they're not green

Crestwood, Ky.

DEAR SIR:: Congratulations on your Panthers report ["Out To Get the Panthers" by L. F. Palmer, Jr., July 28]. Can we put some of them on the next flight to the moon—and some Minutemen on Mars? *Norris Merchant*

our man in Havana

Idaho Falls, Ida.

DEAR SIRS: I enjoyed reading "Out To Get the Panthers," and would like to comment on one segment of Mr. Palmer's article.

In reference to Eldridge Cleaver, Minister of Information of the Black Panther Party and presently listed as a fugitive from justice by California law-enforcement officials, Mr. Palmer says of Cleaver: "He is reported to be living in Cuba." This may be so, but available evidence suggests that he has not abandoned his activities in the United States, even in the face of a warrant against him. At least his abilities as an author continue to be presented. In the July 4 issue of the *Los Angeles Free Press*, there appears a feature article by Cleaver entitled "Revolution No Game," which is advertised on the front page as "A Message from Eldridge in Exile." This issue, which may be obtained by sending 25c in coin to the *Los Angeles Free Press*, 7813 Beverly Blvd., Los Angeles 90036, indicates that Mr. Cleaver is, at least in terms of literature, still very much active regardless of where he may be residing at present.

Michael McCrery

EDITORIALS

Haynsworth

The appointment of Clement F. Haynsworth, Jr., to the Supreme Court has the Nixon political imprint: it is a further step in the direction of building and consolidating a solid political base in the South. It combines prophylaxis against Wallace in 1972 with appeal to Southern elements that have no love for demagogues like Wallace of Alabama or Maddox of Georgia. Haynsworth, well heeled and well born, comes from an "Old South" state. With important connections both in the way of family and business, he belongs to a stratum of Southern society which has been important to the Republicans ever since James F. Byrnes defected to Eisenhower. (Judge Haynsworth followed suit, together with Sen. Strom Thurmond, in 1964.)

Haynsworth's home town is Greenville, S.C., a textile center. Before his appointment to the Court of Appeals by Eisenhower, he had financial holdings and a law practice in textiles, insurance, banking, radio-TV stations, railroads, hotels and other industries. On his appointment to the Court of Appeals he resigned eight directorships. He comes from a long line of lawyers. Obviously he is no minor figure, and that he has not been nationally prominent only shows how big the country is, and how much wealth and status is handed down regionally from generation to generation.

Judge Haynsworth is not, in the present perspective, the worst appointment that Mr. Nixon could have made. From Southerners who know him well and are reasonably objective we have obtained a picture that we have every reason to believe is accurate. No genius of the law, these sources say, no Brandeis and no Cardoza surely, but a hard-working lawyer, without pomposity, of consistent judicial temperament. He has biases but he is aware of them—no small virtue in a judge—and so he has perhaps retained the capacity to grow and change. He is a genuine conservative amid the host of reactionaries masquerading as conservatives, and his twelve years on the Court of Appeals for the Fourth Circuit (for the past five years its presiding judge) have given him important appellate experience.

But for all that denunciation is hardly called for, the appointment is no cause for rejoicing. It may be going too far to say—as Joseph L. Rauh, vice chairman of Americans for Democratic Action, has said—that the appointment is "like throwing a log on the fires of racial tension." Nevertheless, for Negroes, and therefore for all of us, the selection of Haynsworth, among so many more acceptable candidates, can prove to have unfortunate consequences.

The Judge appears to recognize this. Asked about some of the sharp objections that have been raised, he protested: "They're condemning opinions written when none of us were writing as we are now." Asked if he has changed, he replied, "Haven't we all?" Yes, we have—or hope that we have. But when it comes to fundamental human rights,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

there is sound reason to question the values of a man who only in recent years has acquired a feeling for the civil rights of Negroes, in particular, even though that man carries the burden of the heritage and environment of the South.

This leads to a conclusion on which diverse elements should be able to agree. Hearings on the appointment have been set for September 9 before the Senate Judiciary Committee which, with Senator Eastland in the chair, is weighted on the conservative side. The appointment should be scrutinized with the utmost care, both in committee and on the floor of the Senate. In committee, those opposing the appointment should be given the fullest opportunity to state their case. There is plenty to argue about. Judge Haynsworth's record on civil rights is not good, and the same may be said about his record in labor cases. The Fourth Circuit has the reputation among unions and labor lawyers, and within the NLRB, of being conservative to reactionary. If this belief is unfounded, the facts should dissipate it; if the record supports it, the country should be apprised.

What should *not* be permitted is any attempt to rush through the appointment in the fashion in which Chief Justice Burger was confirmed, as if there was nothing that could be said against the nominee, or as if Presidential wisdom were infallible in such momentous choices. The precedent, that is, should not be the pell-mell confirmation of Burger but the thorough scrutiny which Abe Fortas received when he was nominated for Chief Justice. The result in the latter instance turned out to be salutary. Let Judge Haynsworth run the gantlet in his turn.

The Madness

Reluctantly and tardily, the British have finally intervened in Northern Ireland. One may be sure that Chichester-Clark was no more eager to request intervention than Messrs. Wilson and Callaghan were to approve it. He was simply at the end of his rope; if he called up the special militia, he knew it would only stiffen Catholic resistance. But by seeking British assistance he has in effect confessed that the government he heads is bankrupt. It is frozen into positions of such rigidity that it cannot act to relieve existing tensions.

Chichester-Clark's sharp rejection not merely of the notion of a coalition government but of the suggestion that he might try to bring a few Catholics into the government is a measure of the madness that prevails at Stormont. By this time it should also be clear that there can be no return to the *status quo ante*; too much has happened.

For one thing, the British have intervened. How long must they stay? How will they manage to extricate themselves from what has been called "the Vietnamese swamp" that is Northern Ireland? The larger the British intervention, the more the Stormont government will suffer in loss of prestige and legitimacy. And the longer the intervention lasts, the greater the likelihood that the British

IN THIS ISSUE

September 1, 1969

EDITORIALS

162

ARTICLES

166 Isolationism Revisited — *Thomas G. Paterson*

169 Mayor Daley: Solvent But Worried — *Don Rose* and *David S. Canter*

173 Kenya's Asian Outcasts — *Stanley Meisler*

176 The Hoover Institution: Cold-War Scholarship — *Peter S. Stern*

BOOKS & THE ARTS

181 Technocracy: Despotism of Beneficent Expertise — *Theodore Roszak*

182 The Lode (poem) — *Sister Madeline DeFrees*

188 The Stupid Machine — *Jonathan Baumbach*

190 Records — *David Hamilton*

190 Six Candles for a Cake (poem) — *Stanley Kiesel*

Publisher JAMES J. STORROW JR. | Associate Publisher GIFFORD PHILLIPS

Editor CAREY McWILLIAMS | Associate Editor PHIL KERBY

Executive Editor ROBERT HATCH | Literary Editor BEVERLY GROSS

Copy Editor, MARION HESS; Poetry Editor, ALLEN PLANZ; Theatre, HAROLD CLURMAN; Art, MAX KOZLOFF; Music, BENJAMIN BORETZ; Science, CARL DREHER; Advertising Manager, MARY SIMON.

Editorial Associate, ERNEST GRUENING

Washington, ROBERT G. SHERRILL; London, RAYMOND WILLIAMS; Paris, CLAUDE BOURDET; Bonn, C. AMERY; Canberra, C. P. FITZGERALD; UN, ANNE TUCKERMAN.

The Nation is published each week (except for the omission of four issues) by the Nation Company and copyright 1969 in the U.S.A. by the Nation Associates, Inc., 333 Sixth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10014. Tel: CH 2-8400. West Coast office: 825 South Barrington Avenue, Los Angeles, Calif. 90049. Second class postage paid at New York, N.Y. and at additional mailing office. **Address all manuscripts and editorial correspondence to the New York office.**

Subscription Price: One year, $10; two years, $18. Add $1 per year postage for Canada and Mexico; $2 other foreign.

Change of Address: It is essential that subscribers ordering a change of address give five weeks' notice and provide their old as well as their new address. Please give Zip Code numbers for both addresses.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Book Review Index and the Public Affairs Information Service.

NATION *Volume 209 No. 6*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

will be forced to take direct control. No doubt the British can preserve outward order, but no real improvement can be expected until the existing government is replaced by one that represents all the people of the six counties and is responsive to their needs. It can no longer be a government of, by, and for Protestants.

Yet despite the ashes and rubble of Belfast and Derry, the Unionist leadership arrogantly asserts its determination to govern as it has governed for the last fifty years. Along with Paisley, it continues to blame the unrest and violence on "sinister" forces conspiring to overthrow the government.

There is a terrible lesson in the Ulster madness. Critical political issues can be averted for a long time, but in the end they must be faced. Partition is such an issue. It encourages Protestant intransigence. It stimulates ancestral fears. It divides Catholics and Protestants. It precludes reconciliation. As long as it exists, every Catholic action will be interpreted as a threat to "the state"—meaning the rump one-party government of Northern Ireland. As long as it exists, Protestants will try to put and keep Catholics down by way of preserving their monopoly of political power. Even if a few Catholics could be induced to join the government, their every action would be viewed as subversive. And as long as partition lasts, Catholics will quite naturally—and not in any conspiratorial sense—seek to reunite the North and South of Ireland.

A young Catholic woman is quoted in one of the recent news stories from Belfast as saying: "As long as there are Protestants and Catholics, there will always be trouble." Not so. As long as partition exists there will be trouble. It is the fusion of the religious issue with the question of power and privilege that prolongs the madness.

Donahue's Choice

The TV station owners are said to be in a state of terror akin to that of Vietnamese landowners when land reform is mentioned. Their agony began last February, when the suddenly embattled FCC stripped the *Boston Traveler* of its WHDR-TV, the first summary action of this kind in the history of the industry. But worse was to come.

RKO General Corporation, a subsidiary of the heavyweight conglomerate, General Tire & Rubber, owns five TV stations, one of which is KHJ-TV in Los Angeles. KHJ was challenged for its license renewal by a local consortium established for the purpose, Fidelity Television, Inc. An FCC examiner, Thomas H. Donahue, was appointed to look into the defects and virtues of the rival claimants. The 111-page report which he has just issued has intensified the fears of many broadcasters who have been accustomed to having their licenses renewed semi-automatically every three years.

In Mr. Donahue's view, KHJ "miserably failed to serve the public interest." An unaffiliated station, it made no effort to compete with the network outlets in the news and documentary field. Its offerings consisted almost entirely of old movies, with which, Mr. Donahue concludes, it was beguiling "the young, the congenitally gullible, and those not very bright." Yet it prospered, with a profit of around 20 per cent on total revenues.

In an audience survey that KHJ itself sponsored in 1964, it was judged by 19 per cent of those polled to lead in "movie entertainment," but only 1 per cent gave it credit for anything else. Mr. Donahue found substantial community sentiment against the emphasis on crime and violence in KHJ's programs. A survey dating back to 1962 found that in a single week KHJ supplied the viewers with 181 murders, 98 attempted murders, and miscellaneous killings and kidnappings. When a viewers' organization, a church group and a member of Congress protested about KHJ's bloodletting, it told them where they could get off.

However, Mr. Donahue is unable to summon up much enthusiasm for Fidelity Television either. Its management has little experience in the field, and its objective is to move the station into wealthy, expanding and reactionary Orange County, the seat of the vacation White House. The president of Fidelity Television is William G. Simon, formerly the special agent in charge of the Los Angeles division of the FBI. Apparently on the principle that no one could do worse than RKO General, Mr. Donahue recommended giving Fidelity the license.

In what Christopher Lydon of *The New York Times* calls "a flight of creative prose unusual in FCC documents," Mr. Donahue summarized his decision (which must still be ratified by the Commission) as follows: "Moving to the stable for analogy, the choice . . . might be likened to selecting between a race horse with acceptable blood lines, good conformation, demonstrated ability to achieve speed, and an unbreakable habit of jumping off the track and galloping to the feedbag, against the chance to acquire, sight unseen, a Chincoteague pony." This reference will send *aficionados* of broadcasting to the atlas, and will convince many that the Pastore bill, criticized editorially in *The Nation* of August 25, should indeed be voted down.

Washington Icons

Political scientists and psychiatrists should study the phenomenon in American politics of the political icon—the sacred image above the power of Congress, the public, the press and successive Presidents. As only God can make a tree, only God can unmake an icon and, as we know from other reliable sources, He moves in mysterious ways His wonders to perform. We cannot, therefore, expect any early disappearance of the highest-ranking American icon—J. Edgar Hoover. Millions of citizens regard Mr. Hoover as our bulwark against communism and crime in general. If he were removed, they would run into the streets, screaming and rending their garments; consequently every President, on taking office, soothes them by announcing that he would not think of allowing this great American to leave office.

A rare exception to the rule of the untouchable icon occurred recently when J. Edgar refused, through a sub-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ordinate, to appear before the House Crime Committee. Rep. Claude Pepper (D., Fla.), chairman of the committee, found the icon's refusal "exceedingly regrettable." This may sound mild; but in reference to one of Hoover's stature these are fighting words and Mr. Pepper, who was once on good terms with Henry Wallace and perhaps ate a sandwich with Paul Robeson, may live to regret them.

Another powerful icon, though not in Hoover's class, is the nation's long-time draft director, Lt. Gen. Lewis B. Hershey. Since General Hershey does not pack the wallop of the great Hoover, he is rather frequently sniped at. The outgoing chairman of the National Selective Service Appeal Board, Judge Henry J. Gwiazda, has accused him of riding roughshod over that supposedly independent panel, and Dr. Kenneth W. Clement, a Cleveland surgeon who is also leaving the board, thinks General Hershey is old enough to have been retired "two or three times." General Hershey has also been attacked by Rep. Edward I. Koch (D., N.Y.) who has been calling attention to the General's directive of October 1967 which, in effect, threatens any objector to the Vietnamese War (who is liable for military service) with immediate induction. This directive has been ruled illegal by the U.S. Court of Appeals, but Mr. Koch complains that General Hershey has not notified the State Selective Service Boards of the court's decision. Of course Mr. Koch's intentions are good, as always, and he has the law on his side, but he does not seem to realize that an icon is above the law. The same lack of faith may be attributed to Sen. Walter F. Mondale (D., Minn.) and Rep. Frank Thompson (D., N.J.). It should be clear to all these sacrilegious gentlemen that the only way to tumble General Hershey from his pedestal is to abolish selective service, which does indeed seem possible. But since the FBI will remain as long as the earth circles the sun, Mr. Hoover will still draw the genuflections of the politically devout.

Stalling on SALT

The Nixon Administration would have us believe that the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT) have been delayed by the Russians. When he was a candidate, Mr. Nixon held out the promise that, if elected, he would substitute negotiation for confrontation. Now those speaking on his behalf complain that SALT is on dead center because Soviet Ambassador Anatoly F. Dobrynin has delayed his return to Washington. But this is more likely an effect than a cause. The negotiations have been delayed six months, or longer, because the belligerent members of the Nixon entourage—in particular the twin hawks, Secretary of Defense Laird and John S. Foster, his research and development chief—feel that the United States is gaining ground in preparation for the negotiations, while the Soviets are losing it. And Mr. Nixon, who knows how to extract every possible advantage from an adversary situation, evidently agrees with those of his advisers who counsel delay.

The American side has been thoroughly forehanded in its preparations for the bargaining with the Russians over strategic weapons. Mr. Nixon stopped off in Romania on his globe-circling trip and pronounced his reception there the most memorable of the whole circuit. Secretary of State Rogers has been giving advice to both the Russians and the Chinese Reds, in the guise of promoting global peace: his recommendations are nicely calculated to increase the ill feeling between the quondam allies. Secretary Laird, defending General Eisenhower's military-industrial complex before the Veterans of Foreign Wars, has renamed it the "military-industrial-*labor* complex" (why leave out the scientists?) in order to assure the Soviets that the United States is united in its pursuit of the almighty dollar via armaments. He has also linked the triumph of Apollo with American military might.

For his part, Foster has been warning a House Foreign Affairs subcommittee headed by superhawk Rep. Clement J. Zablocki (D., Wis.) that suspension of tests of the independently targeted nuclear warheads (MIRV) "would not be prudent without the attendant assurance to the U. S. that the Soviet ABM would not increase." Since according to such intelligence estimates as the public has been allowed to learn about, the current state of the Soviet nuclear defense is not in the same class as the Safeguard system projected by Mr. Nixon and his advisers, these plans and recommendations seem to be nothing less than a prescription for an American first-strike capability.

On these terms, the proposed talks can hardly qualify as negotiations. If ever evidence is needed for the futility of the hoary nonsense of negotiating from positions of strength, this situation supplies it. Once achieved, the position of strength turns out to be a convincing reason for not negotiating at all. Why negotiate, the hard-liners ask—let them sweat. And let the arms race move into another upward spiral.

Hard-liners are always willing to gamble in this fashion, but there are factors which they may be overlooking in their estimate of the odds. The readings out of the USSR bode no good. There is internal trouble there—economically, politically and socially. Witness the mounting evidence of unrest among writers, artists and intellectuals; for every case that surfaces, how many remain concealed? There is trouble along the border with China, and there is trouble with Moscow's restive partners in the Warsaw military alliance. There is trouble in Czechoslovakia. Militarily the country is under the Soviet heel, but the occupation has turned out to be an even bigger mistake, from the standpoint of Moscow's relations with its allies and the more or less libertarian Communist parties of the West, than the Soviet rulers expected it to be.

This, then, is a dangerous time to be baiting the bear. He is in a bad mood, and not likely to prove tractable when he is prodded. Time and again in the past the "realists," who crank their hunches and presuppositions into computers and get answers to suit their temperaments, have led nations into disaster. The difference today is that the potential disasters are on a scale so formidable that one would think prudence would prevail. Instead, the same old lunacies are in operation.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ISOLATIONISM REVISITED

THOMAS G. PATERSON
Mr. Paterson is assistant professor of history at the University of Connecticut. He is now completing for publication next year three books on American foreign political and economic relations since the beginning of the cold war.

In his June speech at the Air Force Academy, President Nixon branded critics of his military and foreign policies "new isolationists," and suggested that they were turning their backs on the world. A few weeks before leaving office, Secretary of State Dean Rusk had similarly warned Americans away from a return to "isolationism." The Johnson administration had occasionally labeled as "isolationist" those foreign policy dissidents who asked for limited American commitments abroad and a retrenchment from empire. It is a label meant to discredit. It conjures up the specter of the 1930s, when the United States allegedly shirked international responsibility and thus unleashed mad dictators and Japanese imperialists. The label further summons the memory of America's rise to world eminence after World War II, throwing off its isolationism and assuming its rightful first rank in world affairs. Today, then, "isolationism" is a pejorative term connoting weakness, appeasement, surrender, mindless idealism and a retreat from the obligations of international leadership.

Scholars have also dealt critically with the noninterventionists of the 1930s, in part because most historians and political scientists today endorse internationalism and what they might call nonimperialist intervention. Historians have complained that the isolationists ignored the threat of totalitarianism, helped bring on World War II, left the United States militarily unprepared, even courted fascism, and in general nurtured a wrongheadedness which restrained America from influencing international events. Prof. Selig Adler has written that the "Congressional isolationists, so anxious to keep out of war, actually helped invite a foreign catastrophe of such immense proportions that no nation could have escaped its consequences." The eminent diplomatic historian Dexter Perkins has concluded that "time has placed their arguments in perspective, revealing that they were largely unsound."

But the isolationist movement was notably diverse. Nazis, Communists, pacifists, defeatists like Charles Lindbergh, "fortress America" types like Herbert Hoover, anti-Semites like Father Charles E. Coughlin, liberal reformers, thoughtful intellectuals—all adhered to it at one time or another. Because the isolationist America First Committee housed some unprogressive businessmen and because many isolationists, especially late in the 1930s, were opposed to the New Deal, isolationism has often been linked to conservatism, or at the extreme, with self-serving American proponents of German totalitarianism.

Historians have thus accurately found isolationists whom we cannot admire. It is also true that the isolationist Ludlow Amendment, which would have required a public referendum on all war decisions, was ill-advised. The isolationists sometimes imagined war plots and conspiracies. The isolationist or "revisionist" histories of World War I written by men like Charles Beard and Charles Tansill have been less than scholarly and too polemical. Above all else, the isolationists were wrong in the 1930s to believe that the United States could avoid any involvement in the developing crises in Europe through the Neutrality Acts, which prohibited America from punishing the aggressor. Their formula for American foreign policy did not fit the diplomacy of the depression thirties.

What scholars and politicians alike have obscured, however, is the long-term and constructive isolationist criticism of many facets of American foreign policy. Even in their failure the isolationists left an intelligent critique from which we can profit today. Those isolationists who were domestic liberal reformers especially deserve attention, for their assessment of foreign policy was the best articulated, the least rigid, and the most meaningful for the 1960s and the 1970s. Conservative isolationists did not dominate isolationism, and Prof. Manfred Jonas, in his excellent study of isolationism, has suggested that the historical treatment of the subject has been somewhat unbalanced and inaccurate: "To regard isolationism as pure obstructionism . . . is unfruitful and misleading." Such men as Sen. Gerald P. Nye, Norman Thomas, Charles Beard, John Bassett Moore and Sen. William Borah "did not approach American foreign policy from a purely negative and obstructionist viewpoint." Isolationism "was the considered response to foreign and domestic developments of a large, responsible, and respectable segment of the American people."

Indeed, unlike today, the term "isolationist" was not a label of reproach, and was respectably worn by many leading Americans, including perhaps even President Franklin D. Roosevelt for a time. Isolationism did not mean isolation. Most isolationists desired foreign trade, continued immigration and cultural exchange, and diplomatic intercourse with other nations. Senator Borah, for example, favored international action to promote disarmament and in 1933 led the fight for American recognition of the Soviet Union. Nor was isolationism the phenomenon of one region, one political party, one ethnic group, or one socioeconomic rank. It was national, and had three basic strains of thought which attempted to answer the question, isolation from what?

The first strain was a profound abhorrence of war, a fear of war and militarism. Isolationists disliked not only the bloodshed of war and the utter waste of total mobilization but also the detrimental effects of war on domestic reform and civil liberties. The second ingredient of isolationism was nonintervention—that the United States should avoid interference in the affairs of other nations,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

should be selective in its foreign involvement, and disengage from empire. The third strain was unilateralism or independence. That is, the United States should preserve its freedom of choice in foreign relations by avoiding binding and restrictive alliances or commitments.

With these three core ideas, the isolationists dissected, studied and influenced American foreign policy in the 1930s. Their assessment showed them to be aware of some of the realities of world power politics and capable of compromise. We must credit many of them, too, with changing their minds in the last few years before American entry into World War II. Most important, the three ideas of freedom of action, nonintervention and abhorrence of war have a potent relevance for our views of American foreign relations today. Thus we should take another look at isolationism in the 1930s.

The isolationists were intense in their fear of war. The National Farmers Union in 1936 argued that "war is an utter negation of civilization. It is a relic of barbarism, regimenting mankind in organized murder, starvation, disease, and destruction. It is incompatible with every moral and Christian teaching." Writing in 1937, Congressman Louis Ludlow declared that the "science of slaughter has advanced with vast strides during the last twenty years. . . . The art of killing people en masse and maiming and wrecking human bodies has been perfected until it is impossible to imagine the next large-scale war being anything less than a vast carnival of death. . . ."

Many isolationists believed that the United States had been drawn unnecessarily into World War I, that civil liberties had been blatantly curtailed at home, and that in general the war was not the noble crusade President Woodrow Wilson said it was. Oswald Garrison Villard summed up the isolationist memory of World War I when he wrote in 1935 that "you cannot advance the welfare of the world by wholesale slaughter."

Every nation needs its internal critics—especially those countries which have had a long record of war and foreign interventions. The isolationists of the 1930s accepted measured appropriations for national defense, but they tried to twinge the American conscience to the horrors of war and the futility of military escalation. At times their thinking was wishful, and their ideas inapplicable to the trend of international affairs. But as Norman A. Zucker, biographer of George Norris, put it: "If, like Isaiah, he longed for a civilization in which nation no longer warred against nation . . . he held a vision worth dreaming." And Prof. Arthur Ekrich, Jr., recently observed: "As some of the isolationists of the 1930s warned, the pursuit of power may seduce and corrupt even the most liberal and idealistic of statesmen and nations."

Isolationists with a commitment to reform were part of a tradition of opposition to intervention and war in favor of attention to domestic priorities. The anti-imperialists of the 1890s and the opponents of war in 1917-18 preceded them. The moderate Socialist leader Norman Thomas asked the question which troubled some Americans after World War I: "If we go into the [second] war, what will happen to the things we prize? What will happen to decency and tolerance, to morality and culture, to democracy and civil liberty . . .?" Thomas agreed with Charles Beard and several Congressmen who suggested that America put its own house in order, to stand as an example to the world of social progress. Only a viable social democracy could combat the evils of fascism. Senator Nye called for "correcting our own ills . . . saving our own democracy rather than soliciting the trouble to come from any move to police and doctor the world."

Liberal isolationists emphasized the social problems created by the depression, and envisioned the death of the New Deal and a denial of civil liberties. William Henry Chamberlin argued that war would bring "universal regimentation, hysterical intolerance, and physical and intellectual goose-stepping." The most pessimistic of all, perhaps, was Stuart Chase, who saw "the liquidation of political democracy, of Congress, the Supreme Court, private enterprise, the banks, free press and free speech; the persecution of German-Americans and Irish-Americans, witch hunts, forced labor, fixed prices, rationing, astronomical debts, and the rest." Although Chase's forecast was obviously exaggerated, it is clear in 20th-century American history that war and intervention help to undermine domestic reform movements and create an atmosphere for the abridgment of civil liberties.

The isolationists could remember World War I very well. As Prof. William Shannon recently wrote: "No other American President ever left office with as poor a civil-liberties record as Woodrow Wilson." Norman Thomas remarked in 1938 that "the last war almost cost America what liberty she had." Then, too, the isolationists were experiencing the Un-American Activities Committee of Martin Dies, who condemned people for their ideas rather than for their actions. Nye, opposing conformity of thought, reminded Americans that there was a distinction between "unity" and "disloyalty."

The record of World War II demonstrated that the isolationist alarm was well founded. The removal of Japanese-American citizens to concentration camps in the deserts and swamps of America marred an otherwise fair Roosevelt record. The injustice, however, is too obvious and damaging for us to dismiss this episode as an aberration. And we should remember that World War II was followed by a Red scare initiated by the Truman administration's loyalty program and carried forth by Joseph McCarthy. Today the eternal J. Edgar Hoover runs the FBI, the CIA functions as an almost independent and uncontrolled agency, the draft is used as a punishment, Thomas Dewey talks about abolishing the Fifth Amendment, the Attorney General supports wire tapping, war protesters are indicted for conspiracy, 41 per cent of the budget goes to the military and the cry is for law and order at any cost. It behooves us to read more closely what the isolationists said about the impact of war upon domestic America.

Believing in nonintervention, many isolationists catalogued the long history of American armed and subtle intervention in Latin America. In 1930, the United States

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

had troops in Nicaragua and Haiti, and held protectorates over the Dominican Republic, Cuba and Panama. The anti-imperialist isolationists questioned official Washington's assertion that the United States was backing "democracy" in Latin America. At least twelve of the twenty Latin American nations were ruled in 1938 by dictators supported by Washington. "It would seem," concluded Beard, "that the rhetoric of democratic solidarity in this hemisphere does not get very far below the surface of things." Nye condemned the intervention of the Marines in Nicaragua in 1927 and their presence there until 1933 "to crucify a people . . . merely because Americans have gone there with dollars to invest and we have made it our policy to give whatever protection is possible to those dollars." Others complained that the Good Neighbor Policy was window dressing.

Isolationists also opposed unlimited arms sales abroad. Prof. John Wiltz, who has studied the isolationist Congressional investigating committee headed by Nye, noted that the committee "proved . . . that most munitions sales to Latin America, China, and the Near East depended upon bribery. . . . It established that munitions firms sometimes played one belligerent off against another. . . . The Committee exhibited documents which shocked many Americans into the realization that there was a difference between selling instruments of human destruction and selling sewing machines and automobiles." With the encouragement of isolationists, Roosevelt banned all arms shipments to Bolivia and Paraguay in the Chaco war. The isolationists may also have stimulated the partial American retrenchment from Latin America under Roosevelt. The questions of arms sales to Latin America and of armed intervention there are relevant today, and have been seriously studied by Sen. J. William Fulbright, among others.

In pointing out that the United States itself often acted like an imperialist, the isolationists also inspected quite closely the foreign relations of one of America's "natural allies," Great Britain. Believing that all nations act in self-interest, that no nation has a monopoly on virtue and morality, the isolationists asked Americans to stop applying an international double standard: one set of rules for themselves and the British and another for other nations. Robert Hutchins, the young chancellor of the University of Chicago, looked at the reality: "Mr. Roosevelt tells us we are to save the democracies. The democracies are presumably England, China, Greece, and possibly Turkey. Turkey is a dictatorship. Greece is a dictatorship. China is a dictatorship." He went on: "And what do we do about countries which were victims of aggression before 1939? . . . What do we do about Hong Kong, the Malay States, the Dutch East Indies, French Indo-China, Africa, and above all, India?" Isolationists compared Italy's subjugation of Ethiopia to Britain's role in India.

In short, the isolationists condemned all imperialist nations, but unfortunately they often refused to make the choice of the lesser of two evils, as all men must, and thus did not focus their criticism entirely on the most brutal: Germany. What is important and lasting for us, even in this failure, is their cutting through the camouflage, rhetoric and clichés to define international relations in terms of power and self-interest. Today many Americans too have begun to ask for more precise use of words like "peace," "security," "democracy," "aggression."

The rhetoric of the American business community has preached that American businessmen have always served the national interest. Isolationists examined instances of business diplomacy in Latin America and protested the sale of arms to Japan and Germany in the 1930s. Such munitions businessmen were called "merchants of death," participating in "rotten commercialism" with an "inhumane, immoral, and un-Christian" behavior. This view was derived in part from the reform zeal of isolationists who wanted to abolish child labor, improve factory safety conditions, pass anti-trust legislation, curtail monopolies and the misuse of America's natural resources, and lift the living standards of the disadvantaged. They logically asked: If we are fighting big business at home, why help to extend its power overseas? Those parts of the Neutrality Acts which curtailed loans and arms shipments to belligerents, then, reflected parts of the reform movement of the 1930s. The Nye committee revealed much questionable activity on the part of American companies in international cartels, but did not prove the claim of some isolationists that American business drew the United States into World War I.

Senate investigations during World War II indicated that the isolationists had indeed been partially correct in their suspicions that some businesses were compromising the national interest for profit in the 1930s. The American business press was overwhelmingly anti-Fascist. But as Prof. Gabriel Kolko has demonstrated, twenty-six of the top 100 American corporations of 1937 were involved in significant cartel and contractual agreements with Nazi Germany. And fifty-six American companies were connected with the backbone of Hitler's war machine, the I. G. Farben Company. Standard Oil helped Germany develop both synthetic rubber and 100-octane aviation fuel. Bendix Aviation, controlled by General Motors, as late as 1940 provided a German company (Robert Bosch) with complete data on aircraft and diesel engine starters in return for royalties. As an official of the Dow Chemical Company boldly remarked in the 1930s: "We do not inquire into the uses of the products. We are interested in selling them." This attitude was made clear too by the businessmen who continued to ship scrap metal and oil to Italy, even though the President asked for a voluntary embargo in 1935. In fact, in the last three months of 1935, American oil shipments to Mussolini's Italy tripled. The isolationists were important watchdogs over American business. We have few watchdogs today, and have moved into the era of conglomerates, with some companies dependent upon military orders and contributing through lobbies to the world's arms race.

Some critics of the isolationists have incorrectly interpreted isolationism to mean friendliness toward fas-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

cism, or at least a condoning of fascism. The isolationist camp did attract Fascists, but they did not constitute the movement. Indeed, numerous liberal isolationists were early and vociferous in their denunciation of Hitlerism and the persecution of the Jews. Oswald Garrison Villard, for example, in 1933 and 1935 urged Western Europe to boycott Hitler's Germany and Mussolini's Italy, and in 1936 appealed to the League of Nations to act against Hitler. Villard became despondent, as did many isolationists, when the other European nations themselves would do nothing to contain the dictators. "The overwhelming majority of all isolationists," Jonas has written, "had no desire to see the Axis Powers gain their ends."

The Spanish Civil War was particularly agonizing for liberal isolationists, and the response of many of them suggests their flexibility and their opposition to fascism. How can one be committed to both peace and liberty? Many isolationists chose liberty, and encouraged the Roosevelt administration to aid the anti-Franco Loyalists. But to their dismay and surprise, the President and Secretary of State Cordell Hull performed like strict isolationists by imposing an arms embargo on Spain. Furthermore, Roosevelt followed the lead of the European nonintervention committee, which proved unworkable in the face of German, Italian and Russian intervention.

If some isolationists demonstrated that they would accept selective intervention, as in the Spanish Civil War, others later showed themselves capable of changing their minds over the question of aiding Britain against the rising Germany. Many liberals quit the isolationist ranks in 1939-41, leaving conservatives there, and thus contributing to the notion that conservatism and isolationism were linked. It should be stated, too, that the isolationists cannot be blamed for the coming of World War II. Germany did not depend upon American isolationism in making its plans. Britain and France let Germany nibble for a number of years, conceding to Fascist demands. Not until April of 1939 did France and Britain guarantee the independence of Poland. The League of Nations was moribund in the 1930s, its members unwilling to take decisive action. The Soviet Union was excluded from membership until 1934 and then ousted in 1939. Germany was admitted to the League in 1926 and departed in 1934. Both Japan and Italy withdrew in the mid-thirties. Britain was more interested in balance of power than collective security. As Robert A. Divine has suggested, European appeasers co-authored the American Neutrality Acts, because some Americans concluded that we had better steer clear of the chaos in Europe.

Scholars and politicians have distorted isolationism and confused a useful heritage. We cannot accept the notion of Fortress America; we reject strict unilateralism and the idea of a foreign policy conspiracy. But there is much value in the isolationist argument for freedom of action and limited commitments in foreign relations. This does not mean a rejection of international cooperation and the United Nations. It means simply independence and freedom of choice. Our alliance arrangements may drag us clumsily into wars. As someone has put it, we have constructed Pearl Harbors throughout the world. We cling to obsolete agreements like NATO which tie us to collapsing military alliances and impede East-West relations. We should give more attention, too, to the isolationist call for nonintervention and self-determination.

The isolationist critique is relevant to the senseless war in Vietnam which, among other detriments, has crippled a domestic reform movement. As America moves to the political right, the isolationist warning of war's effect on civil liberties is imposing. We might recall, too, that the isolationists worried about the growing and somewhat independent role of the President in foreign affairs. Today Congressmen are questioning the evolution of Presidential commitments in Vietnam without a declaration of war. The "National Commitments Resolution," introduced by Senators Fulbright and Gore, and recently passed by a 70-to-16 vote, expressed the Senate's desire for participation in national security questions.

In this day of global diplomacy and world-wide military skirmishes, we might reflect upon the isolationist critique of the 1930s and its significance to our problems. Surely many Americans share with the isolationists the fear (in the words of Prof. Warren Cohen) "that social democracy may die in the United States if it has to be fostered abroad by force rather than by precept."

Mayor Daley: Solvent But Worried

DON ROSE and DAVID S. CANTER

The Messrs. Rose and Canter are co-publishers of Hyde Park-Kenwood Voices, *a monthly newspaper in Chicago. They have long been active as publicists in Cook County political movements.*

Chicago

A year after the Democratic national disaster of 1968, Richard J. Daley can best be likened to a man who once had $10 million and lost $1 million in a crap game. Irritated, annoyed—perhaps even worried—but highly solvent.

Losses in national prestige, in local public relations, in White House clout and several minor electoral defeats have combined to erode the Mayor's overall power and standing, but when the name of the game is "win," it is still Daley *über alles*. A year ago, the national pundits were writing his political obituary. They were premature.

To be sure, Daley has had a President amputated. In failing to carry Illinois for Humphrey last fall, a portion —but not all—of the blame rests on the Mayor's rotund shoulders. Now he no longer can call the White House direct to "fix" items such as a Justice Department civil rights investigation of Chicago's public school system.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In 1965, when Francis Keppel, then Commissioner of Education, cut off funds to Chicago schools, a few whispered words from Daley to LBJ restored them instantly.

Now the Nixon Administration—only a decade too late—is moving to integrate Chicago faculties. (It has not been determined whether this useless gesture stems from a desire to add heat to troubled waters, or whether the GOP really thinks this is a serious priority on the black agenda.) There should be a reasonable amount of amity between Daley and the Nixon-Agnew team, for at heart Daley is a Nixon Republican. His racial views, his relationship to big business and to real estate interests here place him in the less-than-moderate Republican bag. Ironically, while he was once among the most conservative of big-city mayors, he looks relatively liberal (Daley supports the grape boycott) because the new mayors are all to his right.

His essential conservatism was demonstrated this past spring. At issue was the state income tax proposed by Gov. Richard Ogilvie, who defeated Daley's hand-picked candidate last November. (The loss was ambiguous for Daley, and many believe it to be part of a deal. Ogilvie was formerly president of the Cook County board of commissioners, controlling thousands of patronage jobs right in the heart of Daley's bailiwick, and a far greater irritant at that proximity than as governor. Had Ogilvie been defeated for the state post, he would still have had another two years to build his strength in Daley's back yard.)

Ogilvie, in a courageous action, proposed to the Republican-controlled legislature the state's first income tax of a flat 4 per cent on individuals and corporations. The parity of individual and corporate taxes, naturally, outraged liberals in and out of the party.

At the same time, Daley was confronted by several Ogilvie bills publicly aimed at decimating the Cook County Democratic machine. One bill would completely restructure the board of election commissioners in the county, removing the control used by Daley against independents and Republicans. Control of the board is probably worth more than 50,000 votes in a county election.

Another Ogilvie proposal would abolish a significant amount of patronage in the metropolitan area; a third bill (less likely to pass) would make Chicago elections nonpartisan, a severe slap worth perhaps 75,000 to 100,000 votes in the city. Faced with these, Daley was in deep political trouble.

And Ogilvie, faced with serious defections from his own party on the income tax, was in deep fiscal trouble. The state, although rich, has far too much money tied up in earmarked funds, while some basic programs, such as schools, starve. The obvious deal was struck. Ogilvie dropped the anti-machine legislation in exchange for Daley's support of his tax program.

But the downstate, quasi-Populist Democrats rebelled. Though no liberals, they couldn't buy the tax parity. Led by the raunchy Paul Powell, secretary of state and the most powerful Illinois Democrat outside of Cook County—a politician tarred with major charges of scandal and corruption—they forced Daley to back down. Clyde Choate, representative from downstate Anna was floor leader in the successful move to tax personal income at 2.5 per cent and corporations at 4 per cent. Daley swallowed it. But it is significant that the original Ogilvie plan was acceptable to him.

Another attack of Nixon Republicanism came some months ago, when militant groups from Chicago's four black-and-white Model Cities communities protested the lack of genuine citizen representation in the city's $38 million program. They asked Washington to hold back the funds. HUD Secretary George Romney made a great display of visiting the communities and listening to their grievances, then ordered some token modifications in electing community representatives to the boards. As a high Model Cities aide here told us: "We tried to change things here, make it more democratic and better planned. But there are mostly politicians in HUD who simply aren't going to give up that $38 million." Washington made it crystal clear that the Model Cities program would in no way be controlled by the communities—it would be run by the city government. Daley and Nixon agree wholeheartedly on this principle.

Even though Daley will deliver no election votes to Nixon or Ogilvie, a symbiotic relationship will continue to exist because it is still within Daley's power to deliver state legislators and Congressmen, by the dozens, to the governor or the President. He already has delivered the majority of his Congressional delegation to Nixon on the surtax extension as part of a package that included assurance of control of the Model Cities funds.

Daley, who was first elected as the "neighborhoods" candidate running against the downtown newspapers and businessmen, has become essentially the businessmen's Mayor. In June, he confounded his closest supporters by permitting the electric company, Commonwealth Edison, the city's biggest air polluter, to continue legally spewing noxious waste for another year. The city's pollution-control ordinance required industry to shift to low sulfur content coal last July to reduce the destructive sulfur dioxide in the air. "Commongreed" Edison, as radical critic Clark Kissinger calls it, found the shift would be inconvenient and expensive. Daley rammed a code change through the City Council extending the deadline, caring little for the year's toll on the lungs of citizens.

What is the price for this kind of civic degeneracy? No one knows for sure except Daley and Thomas Ayers, head of the electric company—who is also one of the "liberal" industrialists in the city's aristocracy. Many suspect the bargain hinged on killing off the idea of an Urban Coali-

NOTICE TO SUBSCRIBERS

Because of postal regulations, *The Nation*'s mailing list must be arranged according to Zip Codes. Therefore—with *any* correspondence about address changes, renewals, etc.—please enclose the address label from your *Nation*. If you don't have a label, be sure to include your Zip number, and *be sure it is correct*. Without it, we cannot find your name plate.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tion for Chicago. Ayers and other "progressive" business leaders involved in equal employment and housing programs have been pushing it, while Daley has long been privately opposed.

One can also expect to see a cooling of business criticism of Daley's anti-youth-gang efforts. They have drawn much fire because of the Gestapo-like tactics of the police department's Gang Intelligence Unit, which openly harasses youth groups. Its chief, Capt. Edward Buckney, admitted to intentionally stirring up trouble among them in the hope that they will do themselves out of business.

The most severe criticism came when GIU officers harassed several top businessmen and the respected lily-white Better Government Association because the business and civic leaders planned a meeting with youth organization leaders. [See "Out To Get the Panthers" by L. F. Palmer, Jr., *The Nation,* July 28.]

Daley, the police department and the State's attorney declared a massive "war on gangs" this past spring, ironically, at a point when youth killings and violence were statistically lower than last year. The newspapers ate it up, buying phony statistics on gang-connected violence that were only recently exposed by the *Chicago Journalism Review,* a monthly run by newsmen to watchdog their editors, publishers and broadcast executives.

The media here are singularly shy of hitting Daley directly. For instance, last spring the authors of this article exposed the only major scandal of the top level of Daley's administration. But it took the city's newspapers until late July to begin documenting the charges. Only an announced investigation by the Illinois attorney general and a national business magazine article brought it into the downtown press.

At issue was the city's prefabricated home program for the poor, unveiled by Daley at the Democratic convention last year. The plan, which looked superb on paper, turned into a total debacle involving administration foul-ups, misuse of $1 million in state funds, nepotism, favoritism and conflicts of interest. Many subcontracts went to the brother-in-law of the Mayor's press secretary and top adviser, Earl Bush. James Downs, Daley's top real estate adviser and head of the Chicago Dwellings Association, which bought the prefabs from National Homes Corp., turned out to be a director of National Homes and a stockholder. Pressures were put on the home builders to hire specific, favored contractors, publicity agents, guards, and so forth. The program is headed by Charles Swibel, chairman of the Chicago Housing Authority, a business associate of a high official of U.S. Gypsum Co., which will play a key role in the manufacturing of prefabs in Chicago.

Though he has largely escaped censure for his henchmen's misdeeds, Daley's political future remains a hot topic of speculation. Now midway through his unprecedented fourth term, there is a better than even chance that he will seek a fifth in 1971. Six months ago it was thought that Daley would not run again. That thinking has reversed somewhat, largely because of his conduct toward the city's top businessmen.

Courtesy of Donald Myrus and Burton Joseph, Publishers of Law and Disorder

"He is not acting like a lame duck. He continues to talk of the future and lay out big plans. It is clearly not the talk of a man about to retire," said one liberal-leaning industrialist. But the final decision will depend on Daley's own timetable. It may be decided, finally, by his wife, whose desire to have him retire in 1967 almost held sway.

Daley watchers have a favorite game called, "If not Dick, who?" Until a recent illness, the leading candidate to replace Daley was George Dunne, a committeeman of the near North Side's 42nd Ward and president of the Cook County board since the elevation of Ogilvie to the governorship. Dunne is a tough-minded, extremely loyal party man—brighter than most, but ruthless. His ward organization was powerful enough to elect Raymond Fried, a severely ailing candidate who never made a public appearance, as alderman in a special election in February. Displaying typical Daley-like sharpness, he recently selected, as one of his district's two candidates for the state constitutional convention, a competent, ambitious woman lawyer known for her independent leanings, Dawn Clark Netsch.

The Dunne maneuver co-opted many usually liberal anti-machine blue bloods. But most important, it will cripple the hopes for independent challenges for state representative next year and alderman in 1971. At the same time Dunne can go to the party-oriented liberals wearing a merit badge, though illness may have knocked him out of the race.

The next most talked about candidate is Daniel Rosten-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

kowski, Congressman from the heavily Polish Northwest Side's 8th District. "Rusty" is leader of the Illinois Democrats' Congressional contingent and bearer of the Daley word to Capitol Hill. He has run up a creditable voting record by most standards—following the traditional liberal-labor line—and has stayed publicly clear of the cancerous racial controversies that polarized city-wide opinion on Rep. Roman Pucinski of the Northwest city-suburban 11th District. Rostenkowski's ability to avoid such controversies is another plus quality. His ethnic appeal is foremost in a city where Polish power is on the ascendancy. If the hard-nosed decision makers decide that the Irish must yield to a Pole, it will be to Rusty, even though he is displaying no eagerness for Daley's job.

But it is more likely that the decision makers will decide to retain their Hibernian habits. If Daley relinquishes his job to another Irishman, it will be to one of two younger men. One is Edward V. Hanrahan, State's attorney and hard-line cop-thinking prosecutor, in charge of Daley's "war" on youth gangs. Formerly the U.S. attorney here, Hanrahan has a mixed record on criminal prosecutions of the Mob. Though he once drew Justice Department criticism for bungling a major case, several smaller victories and a tough, aggressive approach to law enforcement and political campaigning have won him the affection of law-and-order segments of both parties. His campaign was marked by support from most Chicago newspapers, though his past performance had earned him the bitter disdain of most reporters. He may be the strongest candidate, outside of Daley himself, that the Democrats can produce.

A dark horse is Daniel J. Shannon, 36, an accountant whom Daley named this year to head the Chicago Park District board. The handsome Shannon won the applause of conservationists with his set of principles on use of parks; then he permitted them to degenerate into empty rhetoric with a deal turning over major chunks of park land for the construction of schools. The use of valuable park space for other purposes is a new campaign in the Mayor's ongoing fight against nature, a Daley war not nearly as well publicized as the one against gangs. A few years ago he sponsored a move to pave parts of Chicago's big lakefront parks for superhighways and exhibition halls. (The effort is not yet dead.) This led to massive protests and demonstrations of tree lovers holding onto trunks while power saws buzzed away just above their heads. The ensuing ruckus temporarily halted the drive to asphalt the greenery. But because those who love trees also love education, Daley was able to put them in a new bind this year by suggesting that schools move into the park land. Even some independent aldermen bought his line. It has been suggested by some wags that Daley views creeping greenery as a Republican plot and is really trying to pave Chicago in order to save Chicago.

The main issue, however, is the matter of real estate, which is too valuable, the Daleycrats think, to be wasted on parks or people. Here, as in most major cities, land use is the key to most wealth and power; it stimulates, corrupts and destroys. Real estate manipulation built Chicago's vast slums just as it built its superhighways to suburbia—which helped make it easier to flee the city and ghettoize more of it in a still unending cycle. Real estate interests will continue to "renew" the city in a spokelike pattern stemming from the Loop, the central business district, thrusting westward and southward to hook up with other "renewed" neighborhoods.

The plan is simple. The goals are: (*1*) run out the black, the brown, the poor; (*2*) keep the lakefront luxurious and bring back—if possible—the suburbanites, while lining the pockets of developers, contractors, architects and road builders. Majestically overseeing the process, brokering in power among the aristocratic businessmen, the old-line unions, the developers and hustlers, is King Richard. His empire remains solid still. He lost two out of six special aldermanic races this year, but the machine delivered the other four, especially in strong numbers in the inland Polish and Irish areas.

Daley does stand to lose more wards in the 1971 aldermanic elections. Of the city's fifty wards five are now in the hands of independent liberals, seven are Republican, and one is held by a regular organization official, Seymour Simon, who votes against Daley with increasing regularity.

The state constitutional convention, to be held in September and November, where delegates will be chosen by state Senate districts comprising two to five wards, is the proving ground for next year's state legislative and 1971 aldermanic elections. Strong anti-machine campaigns are being waged by black leader Al Raby on the South Side, former co-chairman with Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., of the Chicago Freedom Movement, and on the North Side by Bernard Weisberg, general counsel of the state American Civil Liberties Union, and Elmer Gertz, prominent Chicago attorney well known to *Nation* readers.

These two campaigns may deliver two more lakefront wards to the liberals. At least two additional wards, one middle-class black and one integrated, are vulnerable to change as well—and one or more of the city's four white-run, poor black wards could rebel on the race issue. The convention delegate races, even in areas where independent victories are not expected, will continue to build strong organizations for 1975.

As to the oft-considered prospect of a liberal challenge for mayor in 1971, it is more wish than reality. Adlai E. Stevenson III, now state treasurer, is the gossip candidate. He has often tweaked the Daley nose politically. He cannot succeed himself when his term expires next year and there will be no higher posts available at that time. A mayoral race would dovetail beautifully, but those closest to Stevenson—even those who want him to run—insist that he does not wish to challenge Daley in a primary.

That is a realistic political view as regards Stevenson. He would not stand a ghost of a chance even if Daley didn't run. At best, he might carry twenty to twenty-two out of the fifty wards, but his total margin in any five could be wiped out by one good machine ward. Against Daley, he could not carry fifteen wards. What a Steven-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

son candidacy could do is hypo the aldermanic challenges, which are held at the same time as the mayoral primary. That would be a major service, indeed, but clearly would not help the Stevenson career.

By 1975, when the municipal elections come up again, the independents might garner as many as fifteen city council seats. That's when the mayor's office might be ready for reform as well. Warren Bacon, outspoken black member of the school board, is the dream candidate of black and white independents. Until then, there will be only small chippings at the colossus.

Finally, Daley's prestige will again be affected this fall as the "conspiracy" trial of eight convention demonstration leaders begins here on September 24 and demonstrations develop around it on October 11. This case, perhaps the most important political trial since that of the Haymarket riot of last century, is largely of Daley's making, although it was formally brought by the Johnson administration under the 1968 anti-riot law.

The law, patently unconstitutional but untested, is to be a key repressive tool against the black, anti-war and student movements. A Daley appointee, U.S. Attorney Thomas Foran, probably will prosecute. As the evidence unveils, Daley's convention performance of a year ago will—in the public mind, if not in the courts—either be vindicated or exposed for the crypto-Fascist action it was. Nixon, too, will be affected, for public opinion will tie him to it even though neither the law nor the case is of his doing.

Nixon, significantly, never criticized Daley's handling of the convention, even when it was politically expedient for him to do so. It is to the Daley-Nixon interests to see the prosecution succeed as the trial can have as great a long-term effect on the nation as it may on the future of Richard J. Daley.

One is ultimately reminded of Clark Kissinger's acute observation that perhaps we might elect a reform mayor some day; we might even elect a reform city council. Then what would we have? Detroit.

KENYA'S ASIAN OUTCASTS

STANLEY MEISLER
Mr. Meisler, Africa correspondent for the Los Angeles Times, *was formerly deputy director of the Office of Evaluation and Research in the Peace Corps.*

Nairobi

Walk down the frenzied, color-splashed side streets of Nairobi where most people do their shopping. This is Africa, but for block after block, the signs on the *dukas*, as the shops are called, evoke India and Pakistan: Ganijee Glass Mart, Indian Emporium, Patel & Co., Shah & Sons, Ghela Manek, Hindustan Boot Co., Bombay Sweet Mart. Most of the shops of downtown Nairobi are in the hands of Indians and Pakistanis. Wearing Benares saris and Punjabi pants and Sikh turbans, these shopkeepers and their families, with their jet black hair, enormous black eyes and pale brown skin, living in a land run by African blacks, are the most visible evidence of the gravest minority problem in East Africa today.

There are 350,000 Asians, as the Indians and Pakistanis are called here, among East Africa's 29 million people. About half of them live in Kenya, a quarter in Tanzania, a quarter in Uganda. They are the shopkeepers, clerks, artisans and foremen of East Africa, resented and often despised by the Africans who feel cut off from the economies of their own countries. The Asians fill just those jobs and places that Africans believe they now have enough experience and training to take.

Although they are called Asians, many either were born in East Africa or have spent most of their lives there. They consider East Africa home. Yet few have taken African citizenship, even when it was offered to them with little red tape by the African governments at independence. Made up of tight communities that never mixed much with Africans, the Asians believed that British citizenship, granted to them by the British colonial government, would be more valuable in the long run. Britain, however, has succumbed to its racial hysteria and refused entry to all but a few of the East African Asians, despite their so-called British passports. Though many are skilled, sophisticated and Westernized, the Asians now find that few countries welcome them. Even India and Pakistan, overpopulated and impoverished, do not really want them, nor do they want to go there.

Despite the recent panic and publicity over the problem, the East African governments have so far done little more than apply a bit of legal pressure to move Asians out of some shops, sales jobs and clerk positions. But the moves have frightened the Asians, causing a number of skilled and professional people to emigrate and many shop owners to stop ordering goods from abroad. The resulting depression and confusion have persuaded government officials, particularly in Kenya, to ease the pressure somewhat. The long-term goal, however, is clear: the African governments want their Asian populations reduced considerably.

Asians have lived on the coast of East Africa for hundreds of years, though not in large numbers. By 1866, 6,000 were here. They monopolized the shops and financed Arab ivory and slaving caravans into the interior.

The main influx, however, came at the turn of the 20th century. The British brought in 32,000 Indian laborers to build the railway from Mombasa on the coast to Lake Victoria in Uganda. After the job was finished, 7,000 remained in East Africa. Other Asians, encouraged by the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

British, followed the railway inland and set up shops at the stations along the line. The British also used Indians as troops to put down tribal uprisings and as clerks in the government service. Until white settlers from Britain and South Africa arrived in Kenya in substantial numbers, East Africa was ruled by the British almost as a province of India. In fact, all trade was in rupees. Indian emigration to East Africa continued over the years until independence. From 1959 through 1962, for example, the net influx was more than 5,000.

The Asian took a middle position in the stratified society that developed in the 20th century. He was inferior to the white settler but better situated than the African. Like the latter, he could not own land in the white highlands of central Kenya, but until the years just before independence he always had more representation than the African on the legislative council. His economic power was second only to that of the white man. The white man had the farmlands, the big trading firms and political power; the Asian had the small shops and some larger stores; the African had nothing.

Now there is a new order; the governments and political power of East Africa belong to the Africans. However, the shops, factories and banks, East Africa's wholesaling, distributing and importing, its whole private economy, still belong almost entirely to Asians and whites. On Kenyatta Avenue, Nairobi's main street, thirty-one businesses and shops are run by Asians, thirteen by Europeans and only one by an African. No independent country, let alone a new, sensitive country, would tolerate an alien monopoly over its economy for long. In a developing country, the monopoly is even more intolerable because it closes off one of the means of developing initiative and incentive in the people.

The problem could be solved with little uprooting of the Asians if East Africa had dynamic industrial economies developing fast enough to pull in great numbers of Africans. The Asians could hold onto the jobs and shops they had, while all new jobs and shops were reserved for Africans. But the economies are too sluggish for that. The average African has a chance for a job or a shop only if the government pushes aside an Asian to make room for him.

The troubles of the Asians are heightened by the resentment that most Africans feel toward Asian shopkeepers—the *dukawallahs* who own small family shops. Africans look on them as exploiters who have cheated African customers for years. The plight of a shopkeeper who must give up his work of a lifetime draws little or no sympathy from African officials. In fact, even well-educated, important officials sometimes grow incensed almost to the point of rage when they talk about the *dukawallah*. The clannishness of the Asian does nothing to dispel the image of exploitation.

Since Kenya has the most Asians, other African countries usually follow its lead in dealing with Asians. So far, Kenya has tried two ways of loosening the Asian hold on its economy—work permits and trading licenses. These have reduced Kenya's Asian population by at least 10,000.

As the first device, the Kenya National Assembly passed an act that forbade noncitizens to work in Kenya without special permits. The government then ordered all noncitizen clerks and sales help to apply for the permits. They were the first targets because they held the jobs that Africans wanted immediately. Many Asian clerks and sales help were refused permits, and this triggered a well-publicized Asian exodus in early 1968.

Hundreds of Asians rushed to Nairobi airport every week to fill charter planes to Britain. Not all were clerks and sales help; many other Asians, the future suddenly etched for them, decided it was time to leave. The exodus was intensified by Asian fears that Britain would soon close its doors to them, and in a few months the fears were justified. Britain decided to limit the immigration of Commonwealth residents, even those with British passports, to 1,500 a year. That stopped the panic exodus, but Asians have been steadily leaving since then. Some qualify under the new British regulations, some return to India and Pakistan, others head for countries like Canada that need their skills.

The second push was the Trade Licensing Act, which the Kenya Government passed in late 1967, but did not use until early this year. It licensed all traders and required noncitizens to have special permission to trade in any area of Kenya except central Nairobi, central Mombasa and four smaller towns, these being designated "general business areas." The act also authorized the government to publish a list of goods that could be sold throughout the country only by citizens.

Earlier this year, the government ordered 750 Asian shopkeepers to shut down. This was a small percentage of the 9,000 *dukawallahs* in Kenya, but the action panicked the businessmen. They were particularly shocked because a number of those refused licenses were *dukawallahs* in the "general business areas," and a handful were citizens.

Mwai Kibaki, the Minister of Commerce and Industry, was pressed to explain why the government had refused licenses to some traders in the general business areas. He replied that the government had decided to reserve certain shops on the major streets of the big towns for Africans, because Africans have too difficult a time getting these shops on their own. But, he went on, Asians who received notices to stop business should not interpret this "as denial of permission to trade in the general business areas. They only apply to specific premises." In short, the law allows Asians to trade in the general business areas, but does not guarantee them the right to keep their present shops.

There was even more confusion about the citizens who had been refused trading licenses. Officials hinted privately that this had been a mistake by some minor bureaucrats, and the government did change its decision in some of these cases. But it never made a public announcement acknowledging error. Moreover, the Ministry of Information, in a statement denying discrimination against Asian citizens, said the government had the right to redress im-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

balances and fulfill its obligations to African citizens "who suffered gross inequalities in the past."

The government drive against *dukawallahs* touched off different reactions from Asian businessmen. One old man, refused a license, stood in his River Road grocery and said, in Hindi: "I was pleased with the notice. Now I can retire and go back to India." He had lived in Kenya for thirty-five years and had owned the grocery for thirty-four, but he was not a citizen.

His grandson stood by. He had been studying in Britain but had come home when he learned that the shop would close. "We did not expect this at all," he said angrily in English. "This is a general business area."

On another street, the owner of a corner store was bitter. He served lunches and tea in his shop and sold small items like cigarettes and candy. With resentful precision, he listed the items he could no longer carry because he was not a Kenya citizen: "cigarettes, matches, sweets, biscuits, nails. . . .". The list droned on. His business had dropped 50 per cent since January 1. Despite this, he did not intend to sell his shop. He thought he could rebuild a good business by switching to goods that noncitizens had the right to sell.

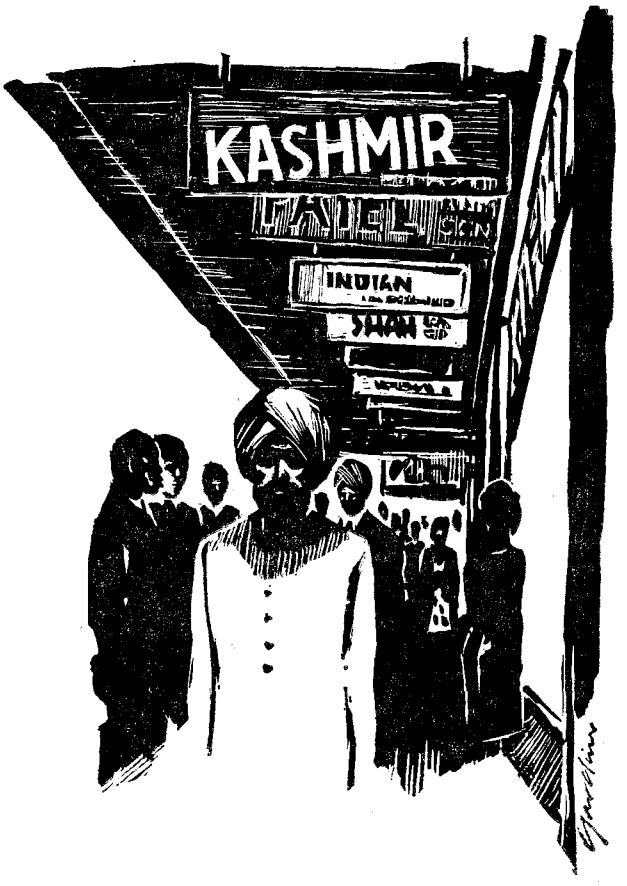
The Kenya Government has grown testy over criticism of its policies toward Asians. For one thing, officials are angry that the world refuses to look on these Asians as foreigners monopolizing the economy of someone else's country. In addition, Africans believe that the Asians, hoping to persuade the British Government to increase the immigration quota, have tried to drum up sympathy for their plight.

In a recent speech, President Kenyatta said: "These people were given two years to decide their future, and they should not blame us." Kenyatta was referring to a two-year period after independence in 1963 when all Asians could apply for citizenship without undergoing a naturalization process. About 14,000 Asians became citizens then, but the applications of 3,000 to 4,000 others are still pending. Another 4,000 Asians have applied since.

"Let them not cry," Kenyatta went on, "for we gave them enough time to decide their future. I do not have any sympathy for these people. They go and say that the Kenya Government threw them out, but they did this themselves. They are now trying to raise cries everywhere that they are not being treated fairly. Let them go to Britain, India or the Arabian countries, or wherever they choose to belong."

The Asians sometimes get a similar cold shoulder from their fellows who did become citizens. "As one who has been exhorting Asians for four successive years to identify themselves completely with the country in which they have lived and prospered for so long," says Asian journalist Narain Singh, "I can work up no sympathy for them."

It is not sure, however, that the Asian plight would be eased today if almost all Asians had sought citizenship. "I don't think it mattered," says a young Asian lawyer who is a citizen. "The fact that so few Asians took out citizenship has made the government seem magnanimous. It has



made it easy for the government. It can say all citizens, regardless of race, are entitled to jobs and shops and still get rid of most of the Asians. If all Asians were citizens, I think the laws would say jobs and shops must go not to Kenya citizens but to Kenya citizens of African origin."

The government's program of Africanizing the jobs of the Asians may run into trouble in at least one area. In business, the Kenya Government may find it easier to push Asians out than to move Africans in. Most Africans in Kenya have little education and less credit. Officials of the Ministry of Commerce and Industry say that small African businessmen often keep books badly, overestimate profits, and overspend. They usually dip into shop funds to give money to the many poor relatives who hang around a successful African. With little experience, they make elementary mistakes, stocking the wrong goods at the wrong time. Many fail to concentrate on their business, and many refuse to put any profits back into it. Unless the government mounts a huge training program, there is a danger that the departing Asian shopkeeper will be replaced by a bankrupt African shopkeeper.

The Kenya trade licensing system may also cause trouble because it permits officials to choose one African over another after the Asian has left. This could create a class of fat-cat African businessmen—the few Africans with capital and experience and political pull getting most of the shops. They might be resented as much by the African masses as are the Asian businessmen today. Poor people never seem to like shopkeepers. A group of ten

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

economists at the University College of Nairobi recently warned the government that "licensing should not be used to confer monopoly powers and benefits on a select group of citizen traders and businessmen. . . . If experience in other countries is any guide, the system . . . is likely to provide new opportunities and strong temptations for a wide variety of corrupt practices."

The future for the Asian in Kenya and the rest of East Africa is shadowed. Of course, there are hopeful signs. As the percentage of Asians decreases, the hatred of them may lessen as well. As long as the laws talk in terms of citizenship instead of race, Asian citizens may expect relative freedom to operate in East Africa. The Asian population has skills that are needed by the large business corporations that have come to East Africa from Europe and America; as long as business wants these craftsmen and foremen, influential corporations will put pressure on the Kenya Government to slow down Africanization.

But these hopeful signs wilt in the heat of anti-Asian hatred. In many ways, it has reached a pitch akin to the anti-Ibo feeling in Northern Nigeria in the years before the Ibo massacres of 1966. The Africans want a large number of Asians to leave. Bowing to this popular mood and sharing in it, the political leaders will probably try to cut down the number of Asians as far as they can without crippling the economy. There will be terrible personal grief and calamity in all this, but the privileged position of the Asian will have to disintegrate under the force of race and nationalism.

THE HOOVER INSTITUTION

COLD-WAR SCHOLARSHIP

PETER S. STERN
Mr. Stern teaches in the History Department of Stanford University.

In early July, the Nixon Administration named Roger A. Freeman, senior staff member of Stanford University's Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, to the post of White House economic adviser. Mr. Freeman is the fourth Hoover staffer to join the new Administration, the others being Richard V. Allen, aide to Henry A. Kissinger, and Dennis J. Doolin and Yuan-Li Wu, Deputy Assistant Secretaries of Defense.

These moves, following on Ronald Reagan's appointment of Hoover's director, W. Glenn Campbell, to the University of California Board of Regents, has suggested to many that the institution has close ties with the right wing of the Republican Party. Its critics have called it "a haven for Goldwater men" (*The Wall Street Journal*, June 2, 1967), "a cold-war college think tank" (*Washington Monthly*, June 1969) and "one of the world's main centers of counterinsurgency research" (at a radical Stanford student meeting this spring), while its defenders have praised its objective contributions and its unique historical collections.

The Hoover has not always been a source of government appointees, nor so prominently associated with the right wing of the GOP. Herbert Hoover founded it in 1919, when he gave President Ray Lyman Wilbur of Stanford $50,000 "for an historical collection on the Great War." The collection grew rapidly as young historians combed Europe for books, documents and newspapers from the war period. A grant from the Rockefeller Foundation in 1927 supported research projects on Russia and Germany and led to the institution's first publications. After World War II the scope of the collection expanded into Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Middle East, and became of unmatched value for study of the 20th century.

By 1950, the institution was a respected research center. Its financial problems were severe, however, for the next ten years, until the present director undertook a drive for funds that raised its budget from less than $400,000 a year to nearly $2 million. The institution has published more than 100 books since 1960, as compared with fifty-four during its first forty years. New acquisitions are up nearly 300 per cent from the 1959 level.

This remarkable growth has coincided with mounting criticism that the institution is a disseminator of cold-war propaganda rather than of scholarly research. A reviewer for the *Times Literary Supplement* (April 27, 1967) wrote: "It seems a pity that, at a time when the cold war is abating elsewhere, the publications of the Hoover Institution should be apparently inspired by so keen an ambition to keep it going." Members of the April 3rd Movement, a coalition which obtained the support of more than 1,500 persons in the university community for its occupation of a Stanford laboratory this spring, twice proposed that the institution be taken over. Faculty members have objected to the biased views and unscholarly work of some of the institution staff.

Mr. Hoover's own statements about the purpose of the institution are ambiguous. When he dedicated the 285-ft. tower in 1941, the former President said: "The purpose of this institution is to promote peace. Its records stand as a challenge to those who promote war. They should attract those who search for peace." But eighteen years later, he wrote: "The purpose of this instituion must be, by its research and publications, to demonstrate the evils of the doctrines of Karl Marx . . . thus to protect the American way of life from such ideologies, their

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

conspiracies, and to reaffirm the validity of the American way of life. The overall mission of this institution is . . . to recall the voice of experience against making war. . . ." While the same concern for peace is present in both these statements, Hoover's 1959 words define a new goal: the exposure of Marxist evils.

During its first forty years, the Hoover was relatively noncontroversial. Its directors—E. H. Adams, Ralph H. Lutz, Harold H. Fisher and C. Easton Rothwell—came from academic backgrounds. They built up the holdings, issued document collections and infrequent monographs. According to a 1946 resolution of the Stanford trustees, the university's president was to name the institution's chairman and other officers. It was considered an academic department; its director reported through the dean of the graduate division. Financial support came from special foundation grants, private gifts and a contribution from the university which amounted to $125,000 per year in 1956-59. The professional staff, in contrast to the two dozen researchers employed at present, was quite small. Collection curators did research and teaching. As Harold H. Fisher, the director from 1944 to 1952, put it: "We never thought of this as being primarily a publishing enterprise. It had begun as a kind of personal collection."

The greatest changes in the Hoover since 1959 seem to be of size and scope: more researchers, more publications, more services to users. In fact, there is a marked difference in another aspect of activity—the public utterances of its staff members. Far from being a charter sponsor of the cold war, the institution's spokesmen sought an understanding of the international crisis. During the first year of the Korean War, Harold Fisher stated that the world was big enough to hold both communism and democracy. He called for a militant defense of democratic principles, to prove false the Communist theory of democratic collapse. In "A Foreign Policy for Free Men" (*The Pacific Spectator,* Spring, 1952), he struck at the danger of "allowing fear to direct our policies to the neglect of principle."

At a 1954 alumni conference, Fisher said: "It is disturbing to observe a tendency to assume that all we need to preserve peace and freedom is deadlier bombs, and more of them. . . . And yet it is surely true that politically it is much wiser to talk a New Look defense policy that gets bigger bangs for fewer bucks than to talk about . . . liberalized tariff and trade policies and educational exchange programs that cost bucks and produce no bangs." The speeches of Fisher and Rothwell, his successor as director from 1952 to 1959, strove to maintain a climate of opinion in the United States which would be both favorable to peace and conscious of the threat to peace represented by the Soviet Union. Furthermore, both sought to defend the principles of American democracy during the McCarthy era. Such views have not been heard from the institution in the past decade.

Although a major endowment campaign was launched in 1956, financial support was thin during the late 1950s. Despite the creation of a special trustees' committee and the expansion of the advisory board from eight to twenty-three members, donations dropped from more than $215,000 in 1956-57 to $128,408 in 1958-59. The research and publications budget nearly vanished. A ranking executive of the institution went so far as to recommend that the collections be merged with the Stanford library.

Hoover himself was outraged, and when Rothwell resigned in 1959, to become president of Mills College, he prevailed upon Stanford's president, J. E. Wallace Sterling, to approve a restructuring of the relationship between the institution and the university. The Hoover Committee of the Trustees accepted the new arrangement on May 20, 1959.

What is apparent from these proceedings is that Mr. Hoover had forced the hands of the university. According to one Stanford trustee, a growing rift had developed between Mr. Hoover and the university. The trustees were "trying to bring about a *rapprochement* between those forces which were growing further and further apart. Dr. Sterling had supported the resolution, and if he could accept it, then we would accept it."

Unmindful of the investigation being pursued by an informal faculty search committee, Mr. Hoover chose Dr. W. Glenn Campbell, director of research for the American Enterprise Association, upon the recommendation of former New Dealer Raymond Moley, and got his man off to a good start by launching a fund-raising drive. He circulated a brochure containing his statement of purpose, and the money began to roll in. Hoover also attempted to suppress a book which had been written at the institution and was in proofs at the Stanford University Press, because it did not adequately prove the evils of communism. To the credit of all concerned, his objection was passed over and the book appeared at the end of 1959; but resentment engendered by this incident still lingers.

Early the next year, members of the faculty obtained copies of Hoover's "evils of Karl Marx" statement and circulated them on campus. The resulting uproar involved students, faculty and staff for several months. Campbell added to the controversy by saying to a student reporter, who had been "prepared" for his interview by members of the Stanford community: "There are evils in Marxism, and I hope we expose them." Campbell was speaking for himself and the statement was natural enough from a conservative Republican, but it was taken out of context to signify institutional policy. A heated exchange between the faculty and the trustees was finally resolved when President Sterling, speaking in academic council on April 1, 1960, stated that "no research that is bona fide and worthy of the name can be undertaken with predetermined conclusions." As to the institution's policies, "These are and will be controlled by the trustees . . . on recommendation of the president of the University." The director's recommendations "will be placed under presidential review. . . . I assure you that this review will include intensive scrutiny. . . ."

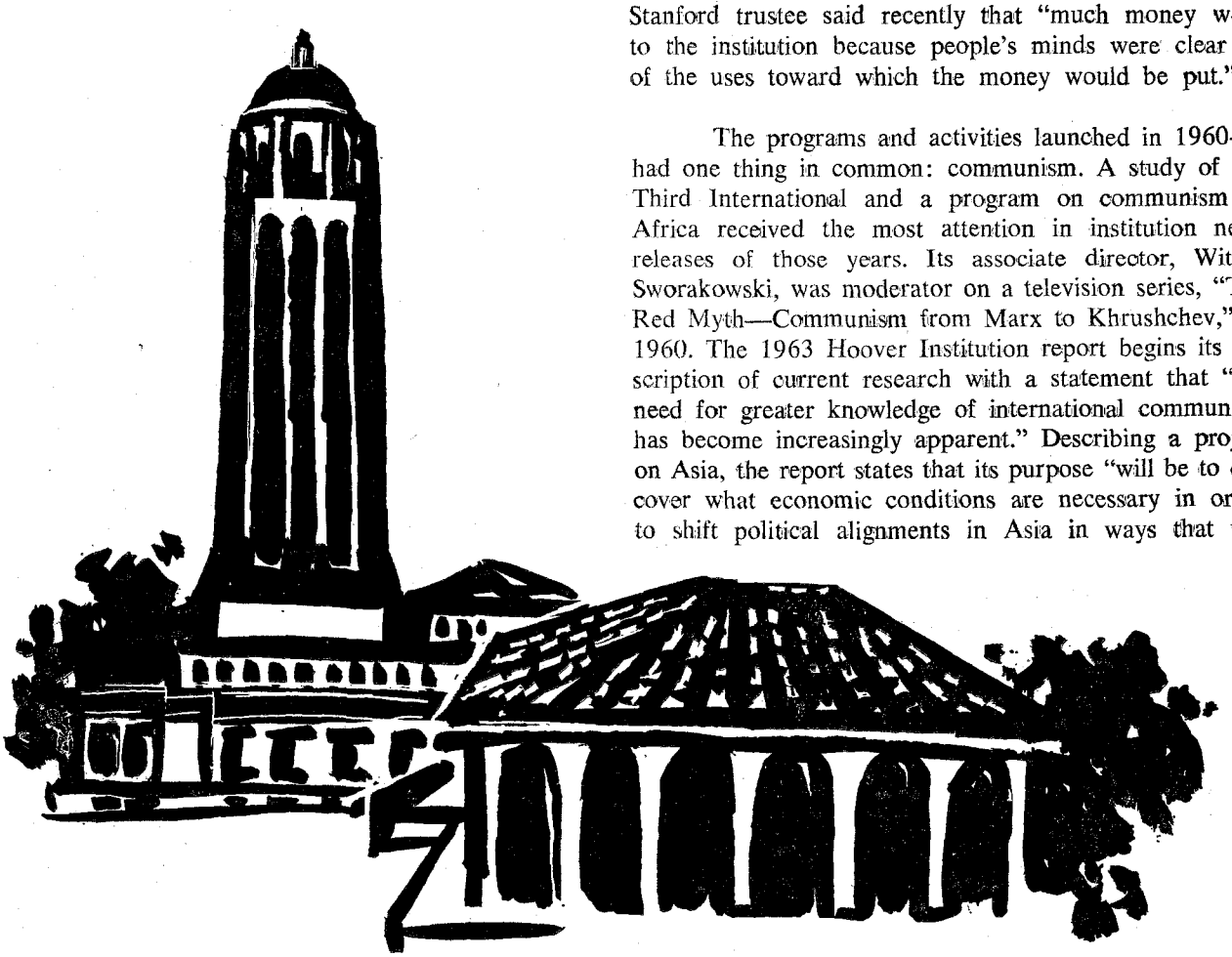
Under these inauspicious beginnings, Campbell began

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to shape a program and build a staff for his institution. Since, despite what one might infer from the above paragraph, he has had virtually a free hand in staff selection and institutional policy, any evaluation of the institution's record must begin with him. Campbell holds his doctorate from Harvard, where he taught economics for five years before going to the U.S. Chamber of Commerce. He went to the American Enterprise Association (now the American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research) in 1954. This organization was created in 1943 to analyze legislative bills. Its reports favor free enterprise and criticize big government. In 1956, the AEA created the Institute for Social Science Research, a study group which Campbell helped to direct. In 1962, the parent group was instrumental in establishing the Center for Strategic Studies at Georgetown, "to study the elements and purposes of strategy in free and totalitarian societies." The leanings of the AEA and its spin-off groups are markedly Republican; William Baroody, an executive in all three groups, was Barry Goldwater's principal brain truster in 1964.

The new director brought several of his colleagues from the AEA to the institution's advisory board, expanding it from twenty-seven to fifty-six members by 1962. Regardless of one's attitude toward Campbell's politics, his fund-raising acumen is outstanding. His new board included representatives from all sectors of the American economy and represented fifteen states and the District of Columbia. Operating from this broad base, Campbell brought in $758,154 of expendable funds in 1967-68, more than 500 per cent of the 1958-59 totals. Of the twenty-five largest contributors in 1967-68, fourteen originated in present or past membership on the advisory board.

Campbell denies that any special interest in anti-communism brought in the funds. He asserts that people gave because of Mr. Hoover's reputation and because of the dynamic role that he planned for the institution. Perhaps so. As I shall show in a moment, the scholarly level of the publications produced since 1960 has been high; but corporation executives do not read scholarly works in history and political science. They are more likely to be influenced by public statements, articles in *U.S. News & World Report* and the *National Review*. Since 1960, Hoover staff members have used such statements and articles to criticize the Soviet Union, the Chinese economy, the welfare state, aid to Yugoslavia, trade with the Eastern bloc, federal aid to education, the old Left, the New Left and the United Nations. Campbell supports the public utterances of his staff, and one is led to conlude that the primary function of some of them is to attract financial support by making anti-Communist, pro-free-enterprise speeches. A spokesman for one donor, the Allen-Bradley Company, told a *Wall Street Journal* reporter in 1967: "One of our basic policies is to support anti-Communist and conservative institutions." Seeking to explain Campbell's success, a Stanford trustee said recently that "much money went to the institution because people's minds were clear as of the uses toward which the money would be put."



The programs and activities launched in 1960-61 had one thing in common: communism. A study of the Third International and a program on communism in Africa received the most attention in institution news releases of those years. Its associate director, Witold Sworakowski, was moderator on a television series, "The Red Myth—Communism from Marx to Khrushchev," in 1960. The 1963 Hoover Institution report begins its description of current research with a statement that "the need for greater knowledge of international communism has become increasingly apparent." Describing a project on Asia, the report states that its purpose "will be to discover what economic conditions are necessary in order to shift political alignments in Asia in ways that will

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

benefit the interests of the free world." Hoover personnel defend the shift of programs toward communism by saying that the institution's resources are strong in that area. True, but the institution's own descriptive literature hints at the didactic purposes of such investigation.

The first of the "New Course" volumes appeared in 1963: the ponderous 1,000-page *National Security*, proceedings of a conference held that January at the Center for Strategic Studies. Reviewers for *Ordnance*, the *National Review* and *Military Review* liked it, as did *The Washington Post* reviewer, Robert A. Kilmarx, who found the book outstanding because it would encourage the public to support defense expenditures. In his introduction, Arleigh Burke, retired admiral and board member of Freedoms Foundation, asserted America's responsibility to defend every corner of the world "from the efforts of the Communists to destroy all freedom." His recommended strategy was "to take the initiative toward the elimination of the Communists from positions of power, thus causing the erosion of the Communist system. . . ."

Along with new programs, Campbell went about selecting a strong staff, many of them coming from groups with which Campbell has been associated. On the senior staff he established Roger A. Freeman, who had written for the AEA and had been vice president of the Institute for Social Science Research, and Richard V. Allen, who joined the institution in 1966 from the Center for Strategic Studies. Other staff members from the "business-conservative" establishment include James R. Hobson, information officer, who met Campbell during the Goldwater campaign; Alan H. Belmont, a friend of the Baroody family, who is Campbell's executive assistant, and Brien Benson, publications director, the son of Campbell's former colleague George Benson at the Institute for Social Science Research. Another tie with conservatism is through the Intercollegiate Studies Institute, where Allen, Karl Brandt and Stefan Possony of Hoover sit on the advisory board with Gerhart Niemeyer, Allen's professor from Notre Dame, and William R. Kintner of the Foreign Policy Research Institute. Two of Stanford's conservative publications, *Arena* and *Western Politica*, were published with considerable aid from Hoover staff members.

All of this proves nothing more than the old adage that "like attracts like." At a university whose faculty is predominately liberal, an institution which has many conservatives might provide a balancing factor. It all depends on how the ideas are presented. Furthermore, appointments have gone to moderates and liberals, like Theodore Draper, Peter Duignan, director of African Studies, and Dennis J. Doolin, a Stanford Ph.D. in political science. The collection curators and the library personnel, who handle 90 per cent of the contact with scholars using Hoover material, are technically competent and politically noncontroversial.

The conservative slant of so many staff members has led critics to discredit the publications and the sponsored research of the Hoover. While some of the senior staff is open to the charge that their work is unscholarly and polemical, most of the major publications bearing the Hoover imprint stand up quite well under professional scrutiny. Hoover's books fall into three categories: major monographs, shorter studies and bibliographies. The second and third groups have, with rare exceptions, been lavishly praised for making available to the scholarly community much needed research tools. Thirty-two of Hoover's major publications from 1962 to 1967 were reviewed in the major professional journals; six were considered excellent, thirteen good, seven fair, and only five were severely attacked. Of these five, three were considered deficient on polemical or ideological grounds.

These favorable results are to be expected, since many of Hoover's books are published by reputable university presses. Further, the research and publications subcommittee has rejected manuscripts submitted by the institution's own staff members, and by leading conservatives from the outside, because of unscholarly approach; so it cannot be charged that Hoover's publications furnish an outlet for a one-sided view of history.

But if the institution's publications meet the test of scholarship, can the publications of its senior staff do as well? The Hoover can be criticized for leaning to the right, but unless such a stance obscures the scholarly pursuit of truth, the criticism does not have much merit. One has to measure the scholarly output of the staff, against its outside activity, to see how the members' time has been spent since they came to the Hoover.

Possony is frequently singled out as an ardent cold warrior who has written much since 1961, when he came to the Hoover, but little of scholarly value. He had previously written several serious volumes on strategy. Many persons assume from his title, director of the International Political Studies Program, that he enjoys great influence. It should be pointed out that this "program" consists of Possony, his secretary and one research associate. Furthermore, Possony does not sit on the research and publications subcommittee. While he has a work on strategy under way—Campbell has said that "he'd better finish it soon"—most of Possony's activity since 1961 has been in propagating the cold war. His writings include two political brochures; a contribution to the above mentioned *National Security*; a paper on "the nuclear trigger," which advocates sharing nuclear weapons with NATO countries; two brief papers on the Comintern which reviewers find polemical and contradictory; a volume of selections from Lenin's writings; a biography of that leader; a racist, elitist tract entitled *The Geography of Intellect*; and an essay published in Germany on war guilt.

Possony's only real "book" since 1961 is the above mentioned *Lenin: The Compulsive Revolutionary* (Chicago, 1964). It is an astonishing book. The *American Historical Review* (October 1964) states that conjectural or trivial comments dominate the post-1914 sections. "The author displays boundless curiosity," the reviewer wrote, "but amid the quest down every trail through the thickets of hearsay, Lenin disappears from view among the under-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

brush." The reviewer for *Soviet Studies* (July 1966) states: "This book is a systematic summary of all the conspiratorial theories advanced by the various losers of the Russian revolution. . . . These theories are supported by evidence which, at least in the form in which he presents it, is inconclusive."

Possony has been doing other things than writing about Lenin. His public appearances, speeches, articles for *Orbis*, the American Security Council and *U.S. News & World Report*, at the rate of more than six a year, have pounded home the message he delivered when he arrived at Stanford in December 1961: the United States must build new weapons, test more bombs and share the wealth with NATO. Among his other favorite themes is that the Republic of South Africa's policies are "designed to operate to the mutual benefit of all groups." (Commonwealth Club speech, November 1966.) It can legitimately be argued that Possony has spent his time since 1961 in polemical discussion of public policy issues rather than in the objective, scholarly pursuit of truth. It would be better for the university and for the Hoover Institution if he either resumed his scholarly career on a full-time basis or associated himself with a *real* right-wing think tank. In a free society his ideas should find an outlet, but they ring false when issuing from an institution pursuing the scholarly study of threats to peace.

Richard V. Allen also has a reputation as a professional anti-Communist. He came on the staff in 1966 to edit the *Yearbook on International Communist Affairs*, but, like Possony, has spent considerable time on the lecture circuit. He advocates an unyielding, vigilant stance toward the Communist bloc, which he sees as a perennial threat to the United States. The nature of this threat rendered premature any consular exchange with the Soviet Union, Allen told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in 1967. Before coming to the Hoover, Allen worked for the Center for Strategic Studies, for which he co-authored *East-West Trade*, a brief study which concludes that such trade is good for the Communists and bad for the West. He wrote *Peace or Peaceful Coexistence* for the American Bar Association. It is an analysis of Soviet statements which asserts that the Communist goal is "the final destruction of the free world and its way of life." Allen also shared in the writing of *Democracy and Communism: Theory and Practice*, a high-school textbook which not unexpectedly concludes that democracy is good, while communism is evil. When his doctorate is finally approved and published in this country, Allen may then be able to establish a scholarly reputation. Until then, he will continue to be better known as an anti-Communist than as a scholar.

Other staff members have done better. Lewis H. Gann, an expert on Africa, has published several works on Rhodesia which have been well received by his African history colleagues. *Burden of Empire*, a Hoover study which Gann co-authored with Peter Duignan, has received excellent professional reviews, despite its unorthodox defense of imperialist contributions to Africa. Milorad Drachkovitch, an expert on European socialism, has been outspoken in defense of his adopted country's Vietnamese policy and in criticism of the New Left; but as editor of six volumes on the Communist International and the Soviet Union, he has made available to scholars a wealth of valuable material. Roger A. Freeman, a conservative's conservative, has been the only free-market economist active on the Stanford campus since 1962. While his prolific outpouring of articles and speeches on reduction of government intervention in the economy, tax credits for college tuition, cutback of federal domestic spending, and opposition to the progressive feature of the income tax has made him a liberal target, Freeman does keep the "market place of ideas" concept alive by teaching frequent colloquia, and by presenting his arguments in good faith and with trenchant wit.

So it cannot be said that success has spoiled the Hoover Institution. While the *direction* of its research programs in the early sixties merits criticism, its outstanding publications and current research program—more than 100 projects are currently pending—are praiseworthy. The conservative stance of many on the staff is undeniable, but only a few of them can be charged with producing unscholarly work. In the past few years, most have become more restrained in public utterances. The organization of a conference this coming autumn on "Peaceful Change in Modern Society," supervised by E. Berkely Tompkins, the most recent addition to the senior staff, will give the institution a chance to turn back to the pursuit of peace.

This collection of more than 900,000 volumes, 26,000 newspapers, 150,000 government publications, and 1,600 archival deposits has been open to all users, regardless of political inclination. Annual research fellowships put this material at the disposition of visiting scholars of liberal or conservative bent. The consortium project, a resource-sharing venture which will merge the collections of some dozen Western libraries, was initiated by the Hoover to enlarge access to its facilities.

With Campbell as director, the Hoover will continue to have good relations with the Nixon Administration. It is believed that his influence in the Republican Party was in no small way responsible for the appointment of David Packard, a Stanford trustee, and G. Warren Nutter, who has ties with the Center for Strategic Studies, to their Pentagon posts, as well as for the appointments of Freeman, Allen, Doolin and Wu.

At a moment when the administration, the students and the faculty of Stanford University are reappraising the goals and operational methods of higher education, all parties should re-evaluate the Hoover's standing in the community. Dr. Campbell, and his new associate director, Prof. Richard F. Staar, have indicated a willingness to effect a *rapprochement*. Since the institution has obtained the sound financial backing, both in annual giving and in endowment, that Campbell sought when he arrived here in 1960, it can continue to expand all aspects of its operation while returning to a less committed ideological position.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS & THE ARTS

Technocracy: Despotism of Beneficent Expertise

THEODORE ROSZAK

Mr. Roszak's book, The Making of a Counter Culture: Reflections on the Technocratic Society and Its Youthful Opposition *(based on a series of articles that appeared in* The Nation*) will be released by Doubleday in September.*

Our society advances toward technocracy along many paths. The authors assembled here for review help us count the ways. Some—bravura technicians like Buckminster Fuller—crusade flamboyantly toward the regime of scientific expertise, flying banners in behalf of an *outré* social engineering whose goal is nothing short of "world planning." Others, like the members of the Pittsburgh Values Project, smooth the way more subtly by laboring to convert our capacities for evaluation and taste into a new behavioral technics accessible only to the academic specialist. Some, like the industrialist Simon Ramo, seek to clear the obstacles of traditional politics from our line of advance by entrusting our social problems to the objective competence of the systems analysts. Others, like Michael Reagan investigating the nearly total dependence of science on federal patronage, speed us along our way by celebrating the virtues of the alliance, while assuring us that any vices accruing can be easily adjusted by vigilant administration within the corridors of power. Even those like Victor Ferkiss who view the journey with a critical eye, contribute to our progress toward technocracy by conceding far more to the technician's world-view than their humanistic instincts should permit. The result is frail resistance in the face of a massive historical movement whose seriousness we underestimate at the peril of our human dignity.

No doubt there is room to disagree about the extent to which a technocratic totalitarianism has been developing in our society. I believe we have gone too far in this direction and that the technocracy, despite the stubborn survival in our midst of sundry flat-earthers and dilettante occultists (as well as a growing population of hip young swamis), looks more like the wave of the future for all industrialized nations, regardless of official ideology, than anything else now in sight. In any event, a lively concern for that prospect is the best touchstone for evaluating the burgeoning literature on technology and society. Is the writer aware of the technocratic possibility? Does he welcome or resist it? Is he aware of the force technocratic tendencies exert upon our politics and our total culture, of the costs and losses to which they can lead? Such are the questions I find myself persistently asking whenever I come upon still another diagnosis of our high industrial agonies.

Technocracy, Jean Meynaud says in his important anatomy of the beast, stems from "the pressure of technology on the political system." It is the demand "that politics be reduced to technics." The seed from which technocratic politics sprouts first blossoms in the field of industrial invention and organization, the obvious province of technical intelligence. But the high yield which man's engineering talents achieve there, bolstered by the technician's claim to scientific rationality, eventually encourages the same habits of mind to embrace social life as a whole. As Meynaud puts it:

> Founded on the advances of scientific thought . . . modern technique becomes, in its broadest sense, all those methods which allow man to make best use of existing resources to satisfy his material needs and common ideals. . . . Technique is not confined to a limited sector of society: it is society looked at from a certain perspective.

The perspective, that is, of technician and scientific intellectual.

Regarded in this light, as a product of both the scientific and industrial revolutions, technocracy assumes a formidable cultural momentum. Its legitimacy reaches deep into all that modern Western man has come to consider good, true and beautiful: affluence, empirical knowledge, and prodigious material power over his environment. As a social form, it is the irresistibly logical consequence of what science tells us reality is and of what technicians tell us can rationally be done to manipulate that reality.

The essays in Lynn White's *Machina Ex Deo* provide a keen examination of the larger cultural context out of which our science and technology evolve. His book—which includes the superb essay, "The Historical Roots of Our Ecological Crisis"—is a model of concerned and elegantly literate scholarship for the general reader. One could not ask for a more sensitive approach to the now submerged religious origins of industrialism: "the sources of our faith in science today and . . . the wellsprings of motivation that lead man to pursue science."

White is far more sanguine about the prospects of a "new humanism" arising among the engineers than I can be. As a medievalist, he tends to see scientists and technicians as still the free spirits and rugged individuals they were before they tasted power and the corruptions

TECHNOCRACY. *By Jean Meynaud. Translated from the French by Paul Barnes. The Free Press. 315 pp. $9.95.*

MACHINA EX DEO: Essays in the Dynamism of Western Culture. *By Lynn White, Jr. The M.I.T. Press. 186 pp. $5.95.*

EARTH HOUSE HOLD. *By Gary Snyder. New Directions. 143 pp. $5. Paper $1.95.*

OPERATING MANUAL FOR SPACESHIP EARTH. *By R. Buckminster Fuller. Southern Illinois University Press. 143 pp. $4.25.*

CURE FOR CHAOS: Fresh Solutions to Social Problems Through the Systems Approach. *By Simon Ramo. David McKay Co. 116 pp. $3.95.*

RUN, COMPUTER, RUN: The Mythology of Educational Innovation. *By Anthony G. Oettinger, with Sema Marks. Harvard University Press. 322 pp. $5.95.*

SCIENCE AND THE FEDERAL PATRON. *By Michael D. Reagan. Oxford University Press. 352 pp. $7.50.*

VALUES AND THE FUTURE: The Impact of Technological Change on American Values. *(An Anthology from the Pittsburgh Values Project.) Edited by Kurt Baier and Nicholas Rescher. The Free Press. 527 pp. $14.95.*

TECHNOLOGICAL MAN: The Myth and the Reality. *By Victor Ferkiss. George Braziller. 336 pp. $7.95.*

THE REVOLUTION OF HOPE: Towards a Humanized Technology. *By Erich Fromm. Harper & Row. 162 pp. $5.95.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

attending. The transition from "little science" to "big science" (to use Derek de Solla Price's terms) has taken a greater toll of the pristine ideals of scientist and engineer than White may realize. How much of the Christianity of the catacombs survived into the age of Innocent III? Perhaps as much of Galileo and Edison survive in the age of Edward Teller and C. P. Snow. Still, White is correct in identifying technology as "a prime spiritual achievement," an expression of mankind's tireless search for "a new order of plenty, of mobility, of personal freedom." It is only by drawing upon such vital desires that the technocrats could achieve the great moral and psychic power they hold over our allegiance. Technocracy, far from being only an opportunistic and cynical plot (and the worst social evils never are), is a proud, noetic citadel solidly based on all that scientific inquiry has accomplished after the dark millennia during which man was supposedly sunk in superstition, mythological guesswork and helpless bewilderment. The policies that emanate from the citadel are born of pure reason and generous intention; its custodians are those who qualify as disinterested experts in all aspects of life—or, at one highly important remove, those who control the services of such experts.

One senses how domineering the regime of experts has become when one recognizes the lengths to which contemporary radicalism must go in seeking to outflank its values and metaphysical assumptions. An eloquent example of such an effort is Gary Snyder's *Earth House Hold* which seeks to recall the ecological intelligence to be found in poetic and primitive life styles. For Snyder, who learned his social theory from Zen masters and redwood trees, our salvation depends upon recapturing the spirit of "the ancient shamanistic-yogic-socioeconomic view" in which there abide "the most archaic values on earth: . . . the fertility of the soil, the magic of animals, the power-vision in solitude, the terrifying initiation and rebirth, the love and ecstasy of the dance, the common work of the tribe."

The audience for Snyder's rhapsodic appeal is small, largely the young and the dropped out who cling on and make do, chanting mantras at the social margins; "the tribe" as Snyder calls them, referring to those like the sod brethren of the Berkeley People's Park whose delicate experiment in Arcadian communitarianism the Governor and University of California have determined to trounce out of existence. Unhappily, visionaries like Snyder are regarded as the heretics-in-residence of our pluralistic technocracy, and their words make light weight in the scales of power. Not that society is closed to visionary declarations. Visionary *technology*—of the World's Fair, science-fiction variety—easily wins spellbound regard; for the millions, it monopolizes the whole meaning of imaginative daring. They will starve their poor to finance Project Apollo; they will sacrifice their peace of mind to have supersonic airliners split the skies above their cities with the sound of progress; they wait with bated breath to have their gene pools programmed for the guaranteed production of talented and beautiful progeny. Those who speak the language of numbers and technologisms never lack for reverent if bewildered public attention, and the bolder the scientific impresarios become, the greater the awe and acquiescence. One hundred million Americans may attend church every Sunday, bringing with them superstitions and prejudices as old as the Stone Age. But when they exclaim rhetorically,

THE LODE
(for Ed Lahey)

I've watched you turn your face away
a hundred times, withdrawing to the far side
of the pit my eyes alone can follow.
Wanting to be with you I mine my own
dark metal, as ignorant of terms
as any woman.

In your troubled glass where copper
glints back sunburn from your hair,
gold is a lie to keep the race alive.
You will not meet me there. You drink alone.
Huge bones block your door. Eyes of stone, unclear,
draw you underground. I cannot handle
power or machines.

I want to lift the miner's mask
that scares me less than terrors showing through.
You will not let me. I back off
wounded as your childhood town with its Irish
never-ending wake.

Years ago beside the dull Pacific
I dug my first expensive mine
with no more capital than a bright child
could borrow from aluminum sun, shafts of rain.
Days roll over me and still it wears
somebody else's sign.

Tunnels stretch from my crumbling coast
inland, far from any home. I must
have met you there. Young enough
to be the son I look for in the dark:
some image of a god as real as loss. Close
as steel in my side.

I've walked behind you through
a gaping town, nothing but nerve
to hold me on the edge; felt your anger
shake the few remaining houses
and recognized this six-foot
rage for love.

Machines more dangerous for being uninspected
grind towards catastrophe, their gears
held together by a common safety pin.
God is a one-eyed gambler.
Over his shoulder I watch the great lift
lower out of light and sit here staring
at these shiftless woman's hands.

SISTER MADELINE DeFREES

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"Will wonders never cease!" it is the works of the engineers and not the works of God they have in mind.

Buckminster Fuller surely ranks as dean of the Promethean technicians. Certainly few exert greater personal magnetism among the "think big" younger generation of architects and engineers. Among Fuller's great schemes: his project to house the human race in prefabricated, helicopter-transported geodesic domes (Fuller's most famous and most overpraised invention) and the birth-certificate-universal-credit-card designed to operate anywhere on earth by means of a frequency tuned to the holder's genetic code. Now, in Fuller's latest book, the earth is stripped of its metaphorical motherhood and becomes instead a spaceship in need of nothing so much as properly trained "world planners" in its cockpit. The technocratic world-view could not ask for a more serviceable central image—though it will certainly require a less idiosyncratic "operating manual" than Fuller has to offer.

Some of Fuller's notions—like his "synergetic mathematics"—may have vaguely mystical implications. But he is careful always to protect the respectability of his bizarre brainstorming by disguising it as a form of omni-competent, global engineering. Like Marshall McLuhan, he is a great bamboozler: a combination of Buck Rogers and Horatio Alger. His intellectual repertory rarely includes a reference to artist, philosopher, poet or prophet. This, along with his anti-academic autodidacticism, makes him decidedly the technocrat Old Style. Yet he manages to lay ham-handedly on the line most of the tacit assumptions of the technocratic mentality: that it was only when man became a machine maker that he "began for the first time to really employ his intellect in the most important way"; that invention and efficient organization, embracing as they do the whole meaning of Reason and Progress, necessarily improve with increase; and that for every human problem there is a technical solution—sometimes a dazzlingly simple one. Thus: "You may . . . ask me how we are going to resolve the ever-acceleratingly dangerous impasse of world-opposed politicians and ideological dogmas. I answer, it will be resolved by the computer . . . all politicians can and will yield enthusiastically to the computer's safe flight-controlling capabilities in bringing all of humanity in for a happy landing."

To be sure, "General Systems Theory," the form of technical expertise Fuller recommends for the better piloting of "spaceship Earth," is intended to be ambitiously broad-gauged: the very antithesis of the myopic specialization which is Fuller's bête noire. The prospectus sounds intriguing, but the social realities behind GST are bound to be unappealing to those who have sentimental attachments to participative and communitarian politics. This form of elitist brains-trusting—an outgrowth of wartime operations research—is apt to be the essential component of the technocracy's *machine à gouverner*.

Those who desire a brief, ebullient account of the systems technique may consult Simon Ramo's *Cure for Chaos*. Ramo, vice chairman of Thompson-Ramo-Wooldridge, father of the ICBM, and, as the book jacket tells us, "frequently consulted by government leaders," is, like Fuller, a self-made technician-entrepreneur. The beneficiary and booster of military-industrial boondoggling, his vision of life is colored accordingly. The archetypal social problem for Ramo is patterned upon the gadgeteering perplexities of the ballistic missile system, where everything, including the megadeaths, yields to simple numbers. Ramo readily admits that, in matters involving "the human component," the "systems team" must include "techno-political-econo-socio-experts." Yet systems engineering discriminates not at all between problems of air traffic control and education, the arms race and urban renewal. The problem-solving procedures are identical. One assembles the certified experts and trusts them to convert the project at hand into "specific well-described and often measurable performance requirements." The skill of experts, Ramo tells us, lies in "putting quantitative measures on everything—very often cost and time measures."

Thus, in quantification the systems engineer has found what the alchemists of old sought in vain: the universal solvent. It is little wonder that the fiercely mathematical passion of such expertise finds no trouble in sliding from discussions of thermonuclear weaponry to hospital design in successive paragraphs, or in conceiving of education as something whose value is calibrated in lifetime income differentials and whose substance can be captured at "electronicized desks," where vigilant computers pace their attentive students through true-or-false and fill-in-the-blank testing.

After Ramo's and Fuller's intoxicated high touting of the systems approach and computerized instruction, Anthony Oettinger's *Run, Computer, Run* is sobering reading. Oettinger wisely works from the assumption that the Himalayan dilemmas of American education are through and through political and philosophical. This means that "systems analysts trained to think unthinkable, apocalyptic thoughts in the style of Herman Kahn, or to calculate the performance/weight tradeoffs for missiles, are ill-prepared to deal with more than the form of the educational system."

> The present tools of formal systems analysis work best on well-defined, simple, concrete models involving quantifiable concepts, measurable data, and, above all, thoroughly understood theoretical structures which adequately reflect reality.

Since almost nothing about education, beyond perhaps the plumbing of school buildings, yields such convenient simples, Oettinger spends little time on the latest instructional gimmickry and systems techniques. Rather, he devotes himself to debunking the many "highly visible quickie" solutions currently on the scene that offer only "the illusion of progress." One by one, Oettinger undermines the widespread assumptions that teaching machines save money, save time, save manpower, and "individualize" instruction. It is a commendable display of candor from one who, as director of Project Tact ("Technological Aids to Creative Thought": Harvard based, Defense Department financed), would seem to have every interest in extolling the myths here marked out for destruction. Oettinger's enormously intelligent book is a commendable product

PHAEDRA INC.
27 Washington Square North
New York, N. Y. 10011

The Strindberg Reader soft cover	$7.95 5.95
William Saroyan The New Plays	$4.95
Animals and Statues I Have Interviewed-Phil Santora	$3.95
Upton Sinclair The Flivver King	$4.95
Naked Author by Pietro di Donato	$7.95
Bird Alone by Sean O'Faolain/soft cover	$2.95
The Book of Answers by Duke of Bedford	$5.95
An Extreme Friendship by Henri Troyat	$4.95
The Whole World Is Outside by Manuel Komroff	$5.95
Writing In America by Erskine Caldwell soft cover	$4.95 1.95
Lolita by Vladimir Nabokov in Russian soft cover	$7.95 5.95
Nabokov's Quartet by Vladimir Nabokov	$3.95
Woman In The Dunes by Teshigahara/soft cover	$2.95
The Waltz Invention by Vladimir Nabokov -a play-	$4.95
The Eye by Vladimir Nabokov short novel	$4.50
Padre Pio -biography-	$4.95
Short Drive Sweet Chariot by William Saroyan	$4.95

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of Harvard's Program on Technology and Society. Indeed, the program would seem to have its future course well surveyed if it were to extend Oettinger's critique to the relations between technology and society generally.

Clearly the job needs doing. It is wholly disheartening to review the evidence Oettinger presents of our society's scientistic gullibility and gadget mania—in this case from the U.S. Office of Education down to the smallest local school board—and of the cynical flummoxing perpetrated by industry and eager-beaver systems analysts. In education as in all other areas of our life, we are indeed patsies for what Oettinger calls "the seductive power of absurdity in full formalized attire." And, sad to say, as sharp a critic as Oettinger himself can have his blind spots in this respect. Even he grants that systems analysis, for all its limitations in the field of education, *is* properly at home in the Defense Department. Quoting Charles Hitch (now President of the University of California, via RAND), Oettinger agrees that it "is easier to program and to analyze [military strategy] quantitatively than many areas of civilian government. For example, it is certainly easier than the foreign affairs area."

That is a fatal, but revealing admission. For after what fashion has Defense Department policy become more adaptable to systems analysis? By subordinating to its oppressively quantitative and value-neuter demands every aspect of life that gets in the way (including "the foreign affairs area"). In brief, systems analysis has "worked" for our society's infinitely expansive conception of military necessity precisely as it purports to "work" for our educational problems: by flattening every non-quantitative consideration beneath a steam roller of dehumanized logicality.

It is the great claim of the systems approach that it embraces *all* facets of every problem. It purports to blanket the whole with coordinated competence, leaving nothing to intuition or amateurish improvisation: meaning, it leaves nothing to the layman. This claim to comprehensiveness, however, is fundamentally false. Systems methodology by its very essence stops short of taking into critical consideration the whole of society, economy, environment, or the human condition. Such wholes are what Ramo calls "too big a system." He warns us:

> Surround the problem too broadly, try too hard to be absolutely complete, and you will not only get nowhere in the solution of the problem, but you will be doing a terribly poor job of systems engineering.

In what sense are such systems "too big"? Why, too big to be handled in the specialist's value-neuter framework. To think on such a scale is to aspire beyond amoral measurements and partial adjustments toward philosophical comprehension and social criticism, and doubtless toward many embarrassing questions about the likes of Simon Ramo, his fortune and influence in contemporary America.

It is revealing of the technocratic temperament that Ramo should finish his treatise by projecting the "golden age" that will ensue "once most people are wedded to creative logic and objectivity to get solutions to society's problems." Logic and objectivity: translated (with a deal of legerdemain) from mathematics and physics into the professional study of society, are science's gift to the apologetics of technocracy. One does not moralize about microbes and quasars; *ergo* logic dictates that the objective mind does not moralize about Thompson-Ramo-Wooldridge, thermonuclear deterrence, or the uses of the multiversity. Where the "human factor" is concerned, the systems team may, as Ramo puts it, have to "tap preferences, judge needs, present possibilities, and evaluate alternatives." But it is the experts who will do the tapping, judging, presenting and evaluating: the "chaos" is theirs to cure. And the experts work neither for free nor in a vacuum. As Jean Meynaud makes clear:

> For technocracy to cease being essentially conservative, technicians themselves would have to become inspired with the will to change. . . . But it is not rare for the technician to consider that the social system (one which manifests itself with continuity) is necessary to the realization of his designs. After all, the supporters of Saint-Simon were not lacking in human generosity, but they finally gave the best of themselves to the big industrial undertakings and commercial banks.

For his own France, Meynaud is able to trace the roots of this conservatism to the family and educational background of the highly cliquish Gaullist polytechnicians. Though they are more diffuse in social origin, the regents of the American New Atlantis display the same combination of "technical boldness and social conservatism." What passes for objectivity among those who staff our military-industrial think tanks is an understandable reticence respecting the world-view and social system that justifies and rewards expertise. Nothing could be more quantifiable than the gold in Ramo's "golden age": it measures out in dollars and cents, status and prestige.

This same practiced evasion of all philosophically challenging questions characterizes Michael Reagan's examination of science under the patronage of the government, a study that never once confronts the overarching issue: the political form that must inevitably follow from the progressive assimilation of expertise by forces commanding the bulk of society's cash and privilege. Indeed, Reagan would press the process of assimilation further still. He calls for the funding of a National Foundation for the Social Sciences (on the order of the National Science Foundation) as the best way for social scientists to make "their developmental needs known to government through a regularized, internal, differentiated organizational position" and for them "to be in on the choice of problems and of strategies for dealing with them."

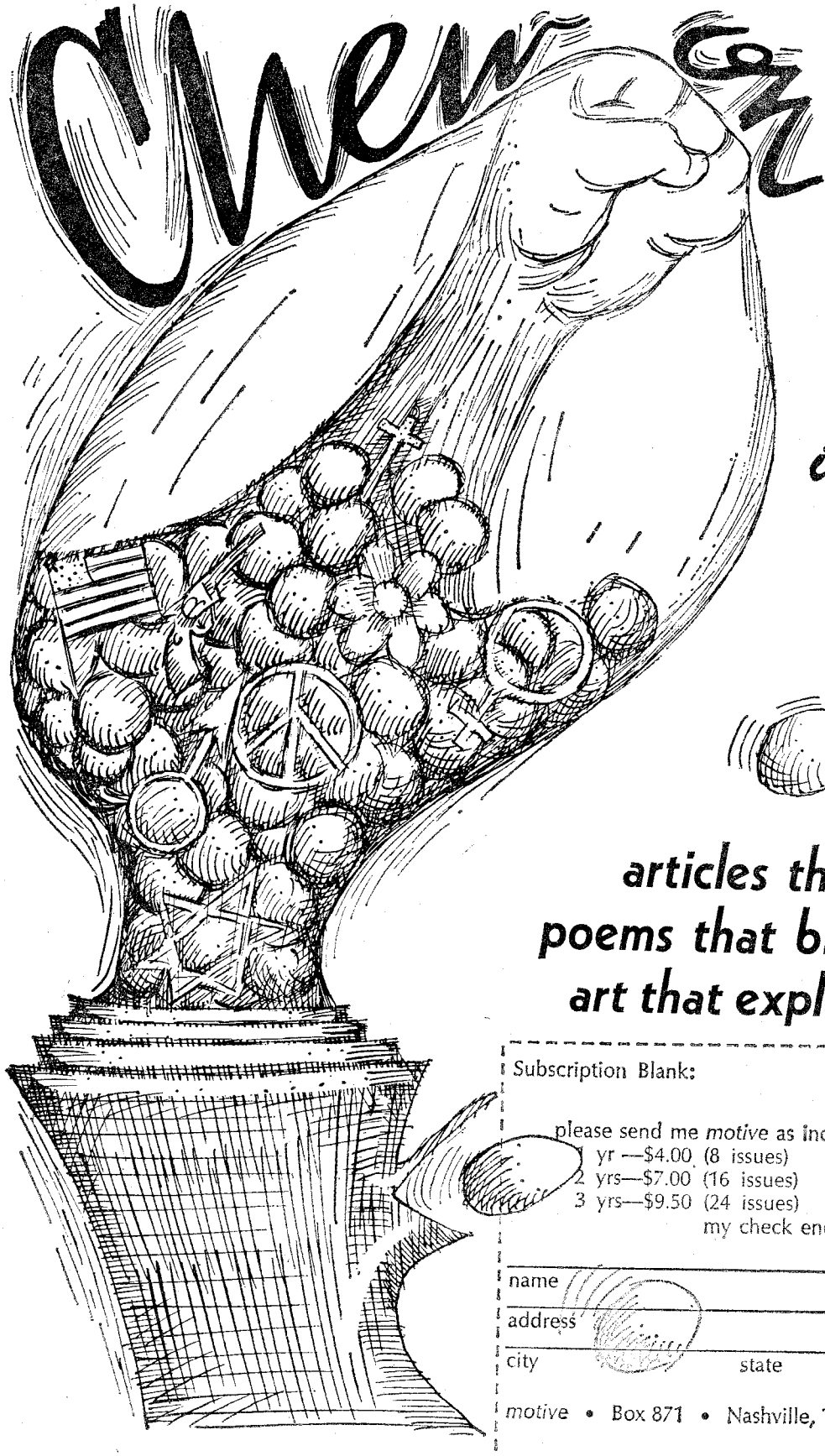
What news it would be to Plato and Marx, to Veblen and C. Wright Mills to learn that students of man and society must make their "needs known to government" and must wait upon official moneys and favor to choose their problems and strategies. But clearly this is a rather different breed of student, one who approaches the Prince with the same power-political promise that has served as sweet bait on the atomic scientist's hook.

Reagan's conception of political science is contained entirely within the corridors of power, where everything that is, is—with minor adjustments—right. Inevitably, then, we reach the cheerful conclusion that the scientists, the multiversities and the government enjoy a "fruitful relationship" bearing "all the earmarks of permanence"; and if there are any problems, they can be rectified by some reshuffling of agencies and funding prior-

The Best Way To Get THE NATION

THE NATION 9-1-69
333 Sixth Ave., New York 10014
☐ One Year, $10
☐ Two Years, $18
☐ 6 Months, $6
☐ Bill Me ☐ Payment Enclosed
(Add $1 per year postage for Canada and Mexico; $2 other foreign)
Name .....
Address .....
City .....
State ..... Zip No. .....

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Critical issues and ideologies with

motive

a national campus magazine of opinion

articles that crunch!
poems that bite!
art that explodes!

Subscription Blank:

please send me *motive* as indicated below:
1 yr —$4.00 (8 issues)
2 yrs—$7.00 (16 issues)
3 yrs—$9.50 (24 issues)
my check enclosed ☐ bill me ☐

name _____
address _____
city _____ state _____ zip _____

motive • Box 871 • Nashville, Tenn. • 37202

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ities. Reagan's first priority would go to "social objectives which are defined as most urgent politically." He does recognize, though without alarm, that this process of "definition" is often carried out by "vested interests in government agencies and outside groups." The remedy for this vice, however, is another echelon of supervisory expertise . . . a Technology Assessment Board perhaps . . . or an amalgamation of the Office of Science and Technology with the President's Science Advisory Committee . . . or why not an expansion of JCST . . . or of COSPUP . . . or of OSRD . . . etc., etc.? Reagan's study is a fine reference guide to the C. P. Snow world of the science bureaucracy. But with respect to all the great questions of justice and democracy and intellectual conscience—the issues that drove Norbert Wiener out of the "science factories," that sent Einstein heartsick to his grave, and that have stirred student rebellions across the land—Reagan is totally "objective." His suggestions for reform are eminently practical. He goes no further than to play committeemanship with the expert-administrators.

It would be wrong, however, to suggest that the technocratic mentality at its best lacks concern for values. On the contrary, the professional study of values is, along with technological prognostication ("*futuribles*," as the French call it), a hot and highly sophisticated specialty. A volume like *Values and the Future* serves as a twin introduction, authoritative if ponderous, to both the new science of ethics and the "futures industry."

The anthology grows out of a high-powered conference held at the University of Pittsburgh during 1965-66 under grants from IBM and the Carnegie Corporation. The result is academically suave, but hardly encouraging. With the exception of a few of the less pretentious essays such as those by John Kenneth Galbraith and Kenneth Boulding, the anthology deals in the learned superficialities which are the hallmark of technocratic culture: the systematic circumvention of emotional engagement and personal commitment. The essays are filled with baroque methodologies, much statistical virtuosity and esoteric computer games; and these last, as described, achieve levels of absurdity rivaling Ionesco. (Thus, in one of the games, the conferees, in the pursuit of computable statistics, take it upon themselves to "simulate" teen-agers, housewives, cultural elite and "persons in lowest income decile" as of the year 2000. "And *that* is science, my friend," said Dr. Spalanzani.)

Professionally, it is all quite elegant. But what is it, at last, that technical expertise does with values when it gets hold of them? It treats them like alien organisms under a microscope. It surveys them by way of foolish questionnaires no serious person would agree to complete. (Imagine Tolstoy or St. Paul being asked to give their "relative preferences" and "numerical evaluations" regarding "personality control drugs" and "household robots.") It quantifies them, by way of "weightings" and "scalings" that are the mathematical analogue of a Rube Goldberg contraption. And finally, it predicts their future course, by way of facile computerized techniques—in this case, their course under the impact of technological forces that are taken to be as inexorable as the will of God.

Not very remarkably, the "findings" that come of such procedures are always upbeat. "The most striking feature of the questionnaire responses is their clear optimism," Nicholas Rescher reports on one of his surveys. But who were the respondents? Fifty-eight experts from IBM, RAND, NSF, and the IBM-financed Harvard Program on Technology and Society. (Are there no laws against such intellectual incest?) Again, to quote Meynaud, "the future is influenced by the picture which men themselves draw of it. . . . One of the trends of 'futurism' is a tendency to exalt the virtues of a technical civilization and the merits of technicians. . . ."

In the introduction to *Values and the Future*, Alvin Toffler declares that "we need systematic surveys of the value systems held by important American subcultures, by different professions, age groups and socioeconomic groupings." It is surely a call for a million years of "extensive—and expensive—empirical research." But, Toffler feels, only this will give the specialists what they need as they set about "drawing up their reports in forms that can be taken into account in cost-benefit appraisals." Ideally, he anticipates a new profession of "Value-Impact Forecasters" who will be "armed with scientific tools" and "located at the hot center of decision-making" as "part of every corporation, research laboratory, government agency and foundation whose output includes technological innovation."

Surely it is the perfection of technocracy when values become statistical grist for the research mill. Once such a great project is launched, shall we not then be assured that all the goods and evils of policy and decision have been taken competently into account—with logic and objectivity—by the court wizards? And what will there be left for the layman to worry his amateurish head about?

How does one drive it home to such academic cold fish that their project, serviceable as it is for purposes of technocratic consolidation, is misconceived *ab initio*? As Socrates knew 2,500 years ago, to enter the agora simply to *survey* the so-called values of a befuddled public is the betrayal of philosophy. The values of men are not to be measured or predicted but to be honestly debated, affirmed and deeply lived, so that we may educate one another by mutual example. It is *this* that we owe one another as fellow citizens. But I doubt that this distinction between the academic and the irreducibly existential would prove persuasive. Expertise, being committed to that self-congratulatory form of alienation called "objectivity," makes no allowance for the person. It discounts the experiential deeps and attends to the behavioral surface. What chance would there have been to convince Dr. Kinsey that he had it all wrong? That love is not to be measured but to be fallen into, made, enjoyed and suffered? "But," the scientific mind insists, "there is *also* matter here (and where is there not?) in need of professional research. For only by professional research do we come to *know* anything."

And that is the box in which the technocrats have us trapped: their conviction and ours that only the scientific mind—objective, logical, quantitative—has access to reliable knowledge. What other remedy can there be, then, for the ills of mankind in a scientific culture but still more science, still more technology? Was it not scientist and technician who constructed our industrial cornucopia in the first place? Who else can understand its mysteries and maintain its flowing abundance? And maintaining industrial abundance is what everybody's politics is about in our time—Left, Right and Center. It is precisely this epistemological monopoly that legitimizes the shameless self-selection and internal circulation of technical elites within our military-paramilitary-financial - industrial-multiversity-think-tank-foundation - Presidential-advisory complex.

Here is the point that I believe Victor Ferkiss overlooks when he writes off the possibilities of technocratic totalitarianism. Granted, he is correct in concluding that the American version of the technological society really overlays and serves old-fashioned, bourgeois profiteering. (Technocracy has no difficulty absorbing any social system, provided the system is committed to an expanding economy.) Granted too, he is correct in concluding that the effort to create a totally efficient technocracy—a Huxleian Brave New World—is more apt to produce a "clumsy monster" constantly on the brink of chaos. But he is wrong in deciding that these facts make "the notion of a scientific elite a myth," rather than a growing reality. For what does the citizen in a scientized culture have by way of knowledge or value to hold

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Religion is where the action is!

and Unitarian Universalists are 150 times more active than anybody else according to a study of what types get into *Who's Who in America.*
Appealing to these dynamos—some Christian, some atheist and all feisty—is the job of the denominational magazine, UUA NOW.
We have to present a fresh point of view or perish.

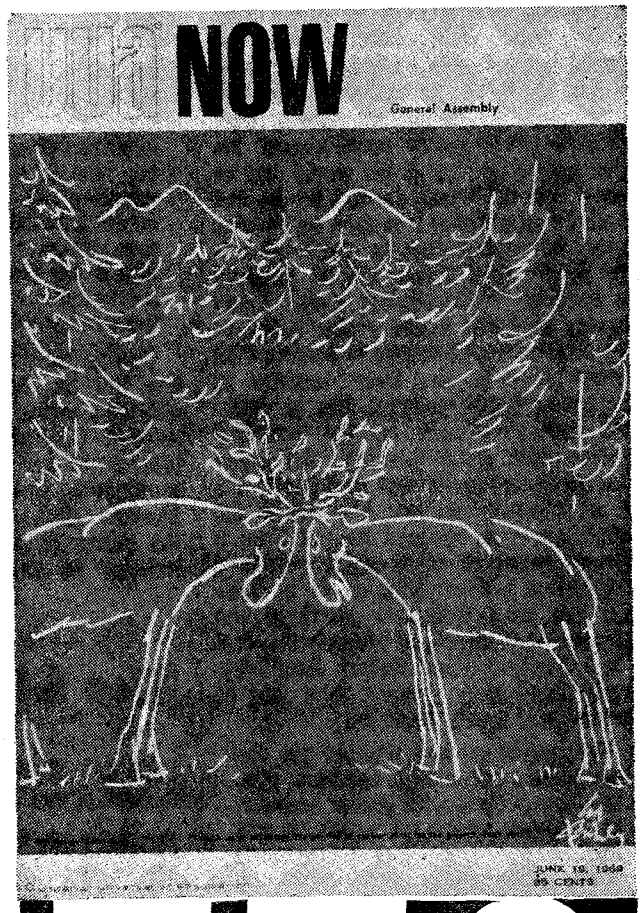
—Holmes Welch warns the churches to take a look at the Orient and the religious decline that set in after a Buddhist monk got the idea of going "relevant."

—Henry Steele Commager finds near-fatal flaws in the sacred U.S. Constitution.

—William Wingfield discloses Richard Nixon as the second choice of California kingmakers back in 1946.

We speak for the denomination that was the first to handsomely fund the Blacks in their own autonomous organization. The first to purge from its investment portfolio holdings in major war supplying industries. The first to bring the question of tax exemption for church property out into the open and give the controversy room to grow in. The first to become active in Vietnam resistance and offer sanctuary to conscientious objectors.

We're not only where the Action is we Start it!



its pictures catch the moment

its stories probe the meaning

Subscribe NOW

UUA NOW 25 Beacon Street, Boston, Massachusetts 02108

Gentlemen: Please enter my subscription to UUA NOW for

1 Year $7.50☐ 2 Years $14.00☐ 3 Years $20.00☐

Check for $_____ enclosed. Bill me ☐

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State & Province _____ Zip _____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

against those who are the experts or those who own the experts? Values, as we now learn, are becoming the province of ethical technicians equipped with inscrutable methodologies and expensive computers. Knowledge—the product of logic and objective research—is similarly the property of the experts. True, we may still resist the experts and their employers. But by appeal to *what* does our resistance lay claim to the sanction of reason, sanity or progress? What is there the citizen can claim to know that an expert somewhere cannot prove he knows better?

I believe that Ferkiss underestimates this mystique of expertise because he himself has fallen beneath its spell. Even he, an admirably humanistic critic, believes that the thrust of science and technique "by giving man almost infinite power to change his world and to change himself" has carried us to the threshold of nothing less than an "evolutionary breakthrough," to which all culture must adapt if we are to produce the mature "technological man." Once concede that this is the proper relationship of science-technology to culture (the former disposes, the latter scurries to adjust) and our political life is delivered into the hands of the technical experts and their patrons. All complies to their world-view and there are no alternative realities. No doubt the technicians *will* proceed to build us a "clumsy monster" of a social system, a push-button bedlam with music by Muzak; but they will also convince the citizenry—by logic and objectivity—that it is the only rational system. Jean Meynaud's analysis is sharper than that of Ferkiss, and much gloomier.

> We might wonder whether the determination to obtain maximal efficiency, combined with greater prosperity in larger sectors of society, is not likely to throw into gear a movement which will lead to progressive monopoly of power by "competence." Supposing that such an evolution occurs, the final end of the scientific society might perhaps be democratic, but its functioning would no longer be so. In the extreme case, a scientific technocracy . . . would replace traditional political machinery, conserving the essential nature of the established order.

One must face the fact that such a despotism of beneficent expertise, guaranteeing both the bread of cybernated affluence and the circuses of moon shots, would, at this point, be far from unwelcome to most of the Americans it was willing to integrate. Perhaps only a handful of wild and woolly dropouts and stubborn black nationalists would be inclined to resist its invitation to the fat and dependent life. Certainly Meynaud's proposed safeguard—an unspecified strengthening of elected authorities and their institutions wholly within the going industrial system—looks like a very weak reed. This is because it ignores the psychic and metaphysical depths to which the technocracy reaches in achieving acquiescence and in this way undercutting democratic institutions.

Erich Fromm does greater justice to this dimension of the problem in his *Revolution of Hope*, an inspirational tract that provides a sensitive, if primer-simple assessment of our technological dehumanization. With a shrewd eye for the pathological, he tells us that

> the main problem . . . is not whether . . . a computer-man can be constructed; it is rather why the idea is becoming so popular in a historical period when nothing seems to be more important than to transform the existing man into a more rational, harmonious, and peace-loving being. One cannot help being suspicious that often the attraction of the computer-man idea is the expression of a flight from life and from humane experience into the mechanical and purely cerebral.

The major weakness of Fromm's treatise lies in the author's eagerness to dish up a rather thin potpourri of specific reforms (though there are several good ideas here) and to launch a new political movement. I doubt that the changes Fromm desires should, or will have the conventional organizational characteristics he suggests: a national committee of notables ("The Voice of American Conscience") reared on a base of local subcommittees. The "psychospiritual renewal" he calls for must perforce be more subtle and spontaneous, and surely less concerned than Fromm is with avoiding "the breakdown of the industrial machine." It will have to get at the millions as insidiously as it has apparently gotten at Fromm himself, whose latest writings begin to reveal a pronounced compromise with his former secularized, Socialist humanism, and a growing disposition to take seriously religious forms of community and personal transcendence.

Fromm does not, to be sure, move far enough in this direction to match the sensuous, primitivist mysticisms of Gary Snyder: "the timeless path of love and wisdom, in affectionate company with the sky, wind, clouds, trees, water, animals and grasses." And his hesitancy is understandable, since to cut so deep seeking the roots of the technocracy means hazarding one's intellectual respectability. But I think it has come to that desperate a pass. Caliban, having acquired the higher mathematics and devised him a clever machinery, hastens to counterfeit his master's magic. We may then need more than a touch of Blake's brave perversity

> *To cast off Bacon, Locke & Newton from Albion's covering,*
> *To take off his filthy garments & clothe him with Imagination.*

The Stupid Machine

THE LOVE MACHINE. *By Jacqueline Susann. Simon & Schuster. 511 pp. $6.95.*

JONATHAN BAUMBACH
Mr. Baumbach is the director of creative writing at Brooklyn College. He is the author of two novels, A Man To Conjure With *(Random House) and* What Comes Next *(Harper & Row), and a critical study,* The Landscape of Nightmare *(New York University Press).*

> Perhaps man's only chance of survival is to *become* a machine.
> —*The Love Machine*

It is no secret that education in America has a vested interest in stupidity. Our institutions are in business to perpetuate the culture. What one learns in school are strategies of socialization: how to compete, how to fit in, how to give teacher what he wants. Anyone who has taught writing in college has seen the results. Our students write the dead prose of official culture, voiceless, abstract, euphemistic, a language capable of only the most generalized distinctions. Which brings us to *The Love Machine*, currently the best-selling fiction in America.

"This was the kind of love novelists wrote about. It did exist. Her past 'romances' paled in comparison." This is the kind of interior monologue Jacqueline Susann writes. Her prose defines the way her characters experience the world. In almost every creative writing course I've taught, there have been three or four girls who write like Miss Susann —that is write about beautiful non-people leading women's magazine fantasy lives. "Who are these people?" I ask them, and they shrug as if to say, "who is anyone? We grew up in Brooklyn, what do we know about anything?"

The muse of *The Love Machine* is the culture itself. Despite her pretense to sophistication, Miss Susann is, in effect, a primitive. Though she makes a few breathy passes at psychologizing, her narrative is unencumbered by psychology. Her characters go where she moves them, talk for the most part to convey information, experience the world the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

same way their author does, are interchangeably mindless. It is as if Madame Bovary, stars in her eyes, survived to tell her own story. A novel of manners without nuance, *The Love Machine* shares a common plastic reality with television commercials, Rex Reed, *Guess Who's Coming to Dinner?*, Billy Graham, *Cosmopolitan* and *Playboy*, Richard Nixon, *The Dating Game*, political rhetoric, other popular novels, our schools. As a document of corruption, the novel is essentially—rather touchingly—innocent.

The three heroines seem, for all their protestations of love, less capable of real feeling than their loveless love object, the Love Machine himself, an opportunistic television executive named Robin Stone. Robin's tragic hang-up is to experience sex and love as wholly separate—a rather common circumstance in our culture. Miss Susann's women tend to confuse sex and love—that is, identify love with physical gratification. There's no indication in the novel that Miss Susann doesn't take her heroines at their word. "Her love for Robin refused to find a level. It soared on and on to a peak of feverish infinity." "She wanted Robin so bad she physically ached." When my students write like that I indicate that the language defies belief. "But that's exactly the way it felt," the student will argue, upset at my failure to understand. What happens, of course, is that the prose precedes the experience, fakes it, exists ultimately in lieu of it. Sentimentality is the language of numbness.

"She really loved Gregory but she wasn't *in* love with him." In Faulkner's *As I Lay Dying*, Addie Bundren says: "I knew that the word [love] was like the others just a shape to fill a lack: that when the right time came you wouldn't need a word for that." Miss Susann uses the word relentlessly. " 'For the first time in my stinking life I'm really in love.' " " 'I know he loves me but I'm just part of his empire.' " " 'The whole world loves Lucy, Ed Sullivan and Bob Hope. Tell me, newsgirl, whom do *you* love on television?' "

Reading *The Love Machine* is a numbingly mindless experience. Its effect is narcotic. Miss Susann asks her readers not to think, not to feel, and, before all, not to see—nothing is asked and all is given. In a sense, the book is a collaboration—a shared inhuman cultural fantasy between author and readers, a reinforcement of culture-induced fantasies. Where real literature disturbs, books like *The Love Machine* comfort. It is not only child's play to read but offers gratifyingly easy solutions. After two weeks of psychoanalysis one character discovers that "he had personality problems, but he was not a fag!" The subliminal message of the novel is *stay as stupid as you are*. Stupidity is a way of avoiding pain by ignoring options, a form of inhumanity comparable to Robin's incapacity to feel. "Come to think of it," Robin tells Maggie in the voice of wisdom, "I don't think I've ever met a happy adjusted genius."

We are a schizophrenic culture. Our advertisements promote instant gratification, while our institutions—schools, churches, government—tell us to be thrifty, hard working and chaste. So we are programmed by media to live for the moment and programmed by institutions to feel guilty as hell about pleasure. An artifact of the culture, *The Love Machine* has it both ways. The main thrust of the novel is hedonistic—characters hop in and out of bed with one another in various combinations—but the novel opts finally for the middle-class puritan verities. "But there's more to life than living this business every second, and making excuses for sexual deviation because we're artists. I want a husband, not a bright young director who smokes pot and makes it with a boy occasionally for kicks."

On the face of it, *The Love Machine* deplores the amoral world it describes. Robin reforms at the end to become his own man, to write his book, to realize self over career; finally, cured of chron-

FIFTH ANNUAL SOCIALIST SCHOLARS CONFERENCE

September 5, 6, 7

HOFSTRA UNIVERSITY

Hempstead, Long Island

Panels on: Marcuse, Redefining American Literature; Marx and American Society; Teaching Black Studies; Women and Socialism; The Student Response to the American Century; American Ethnicity; Radical Political Culture Magazines; Recent European Theory; The Role of the Intellectual in the Socialist Party; Radical Responses to Established Social Science.

Participants: Stanley Aronowitz; Ronald Aronson; Norman Birnbaum; Paul Breines; Bruce Brown; Paul Buhle; John Cammett; Marlene Dixon; George Fischer; Mike Folsom; James Gilbert; Herb Gintis; David Goldway; Calvin Hicks; C. L. R. James; Ann Lane; Louis Lomax; Kate Millett; Martin Nicolaus; James O'Brien; Jonah Raskin; Morris U. Schappes; Ralph Schoenman; Trent Schroyer; Irwin Silber; Sondra Silverman; Ted Solotaroff; Susan Sontag; Naomi Weisstein; Sol Yurick.

Registration: begins 9 A.M., Friday, September 5th at Student Center, Hofstra University. Fee . . $10.00; Students . . $5.00

Directions: Hofstra is located near Hempstead, Long Island (about 45 minutes from NYC), which can be reached via LIRR from Brooklyn or Manhattan Penn Station, or by auto via Long Island Expressway or Southern State Parkway.

For Pre-Registration and Information on other SSC Programs, write to:

SOCIALIST SCHOLARS CONFERENCE
P.O. BOX 933
New Brunswick, New Jersey 08903

Your Contribution will make possible the continuation and expansion of the work of the SSC.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ic inhumanity, to marry the woman he loves. Integrity and love triumph over hedonism and ambition. *The Love Machine* subscribes to cultural convention so successfully because it believes in it. There is no discernible vision in the novel outside popular culture's vision of itself, no higher intelligence, no other context. As one can see from the quotations, the novel is written in the very language of its world—a language wholly incapable of accounting for human experience, a language geared to genocide. If we had better schools we might have more literate and human best sellers, but then we would be another country.

RECORDS

DAVID HAMILTON

SESSIONS: Symphony No. 3. Royal Philharmonic Orchestra. Igor Buketoff, cond. RCA Red Seal LSC-3095. $5.98 (coupled with Lees: Concerto for String Quartet and Orchestra).

JOHNSTON: String Quartet No. 2. Composers Quartet. Nonesuch H-71224. $2.98 (coupled with Cage/Hiller: *HPSCHD*).

WUORINEN: *Time's Encomium* (electronic). Nonesuch H-71225. $2.98.

In a season that has seen an unusual number of valuable recordings of contemporary music, these three works, not part of any "series," are all exceptionally welcome.

Regrettably, the record industry's sudden access of interest in "new" music (the adjective generally being understood only in its most trivial sense) has brought little benefit to the work of such men as Roger Sessions, who are being overlooked as assiduously as ever, if from the opposite direction. In the last two decades, Sessions has been extremely prolific—five symphonies, a major opera (still to be performed in this country, it has been announced and postponed by the Boston Opera), a piano concerto, and other substantial pieces—but very little of this work has had broad public circulation. That the public preference—or, at least, attention—has passed from low-density music in traditional forms to still lower-density work employing novel sonorities and trivial modes of continuity has altered neither the character nor the value of Sessions' music; it remains radical in its insistence on highly concentrated thought and intricately interwoven textures.

The Third Symphony, a Boston commission of 1957, has a particularly impressive degree of rhythmic impetus, supporting an intensive developmental variation of the material's phrase structures by extension and elision—an ostensibly "traditional" procedure, but pursued so assiduously and convincingly that it imparts a unique long-breathed flexibility to the musical movement. Closely related is the textural activity, highly contrapuntal, with overlapping materials constantly offering themselves to the attention. Unfortunately, this last aspect is rather slighted in the recorded performance, very much a top-line affair and frequently inaccurate in detail; fortunately, the conductor has a reasonable grasp of the overall line, and manages to maintain the rhythmic impetus with some success. (That American orchestral music is nowadays recorded almost exclusively in Europe may not bother the record companies, but orchestra managers and players should be wondering about where this trend leads next: what will happen to all that nice recording income when even Beethoven costs too much to record in this country?)

Ben Johnston's Second String Quartet is one of those rare "experimental" works that should be able to survive being an experiment, for it is completely thought out in musical terms. The subject matter of the experiment is the use of microtonal scales and intervals—not the usual quarter- or sixth-tones but the intervals resulting from the use of "just" intonation (that is, acoustically pure intervals, rather than the tempered ones of the standard twelve-note chromatic scale). Each movement employs these materials in a different way, but in every case the microtonal element is integral to the musical structure, not simply a coloristic device. It is, of course, an ear-stretching piece, but also an extremely expressive one, poised skillfully on a distant edge of our conventional aural experience. The performance of the Composers Quartet displays a musicianship nothing short of fabulous.

Charles Wuorinen's new electronic piece is in fact a première on records, for it was commissioned especially for this purpose; it is by far the most sophisticated work to result from the Nonesuch Records commissioning program, and takes cognizance of two fundamental facts: that it will be listened to in the home and that a record has two sides. The first of these is reflected in the sound material, which avoids the cosmic-cataclysmic strains so beloved of beginners in the medium (not that these aren't useful in their place—but their place is the concert hall), and the second in the work's two-part structure. The articulation of structure, in time and space, is obviously the main concern, and none of the sound material is unusual or obtrusive for its own sake; although when listening on headphones I found the rapid "ping-pong" switching of sounds from one channel to the other—a kind of spatial rhythmicizing—to be disturbing, this problem didn't arise on speakers (doubtless the phenomenon has some psycho-acoustical explanation). The use of space, not merely left-middle-right contrasts but also distance effects achieved through reverberation, is resourceful and also appropriate to the medium; such articulations can be very chancy in the concert hall. A thoughtful piece, and a worth-while contribution to the electronic repertory.

SIX CANDLES FOR A CAKE

1.
Marriage does not confer
An honorary degree on anyone;
All our powers of mimicry
Cannot truly impersonate
The flow, the lifetime
Residency in another's body.

2.
During our youth
When our profile
Falls out of its nest,
Life does not ask us:
"Are you saved?"
But simply saves us.

3.
Who, he asked,
Could trim his hair, his nails,
His desire,
Better than himself?
His needs had always
Marched in single file
Behind him.

4.
Hoisted up on a mast
Was his agonised grin;
The priest
Saluted it
With his baton.

5.
(O what a
Picket line
Our qualms
Produce)

6.
The moon comes out of the sky
Bearing a tray.

The moon is middle-aged
And has a snout like a pig.

The moon doesn't care for the sun.
The moon doesn't care for the night.

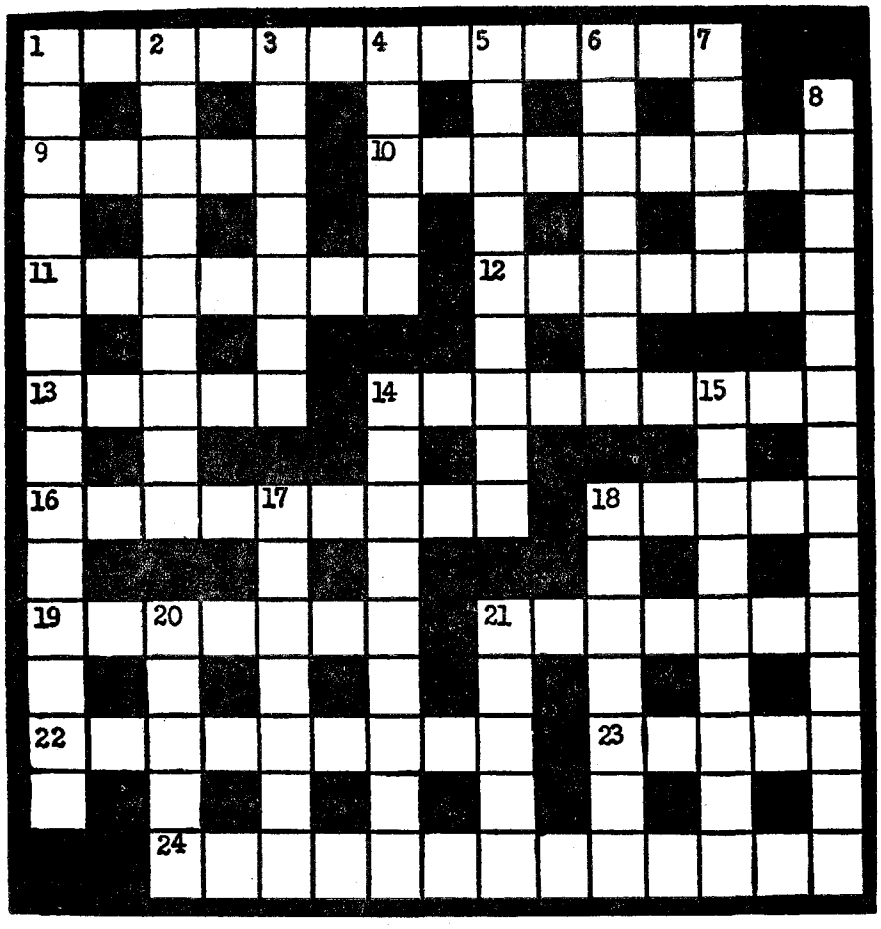
The moon cares for nothing.
The moon takes pills.

STANLEY KIESEL

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Crossword Puzzle No. 1310

FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 See 8 down
9 Brief news reports from the "Times"? (5)
10 You might find a heavenly body in one, as the composer implies. (9)
11 These who either keep or make book might be concerned with them. (7)
12 Loud the iron-bosomed sea after this, according to Rossetti. (7)
13 A boot might be put into a difficult position. (5)
14 One engaged might be so. (6,3)
16 One doesn't give such fruit as a token of esteem. (9)
18 A tape recorder might be to or for, according to the sound. (5)
19 Redcoat, but not British. (7)
21 One might the t in ten, or TNT. (7)
22 Back-up necessary in ruling that which is objectionable. (9)
23 Lift one might hope for at work. (5)
24 Dish commonly associated with brass ornamentation, if service-minded. (9,4)

DOWN

1 See the relic Sir Robert Dudley's area left in ruins! (14)
2 For the musician who drinks, it certainly has no connotation of being hot and dry. (9)
3 How to make ineffective the act of sifting cinders? (7)
4 In the light of our ancestors' experience, they might have been frequently turned up. (5)
5 Ted Lewis expected this to be happy. (9)
6 One way to teach a couple of points about money? (7)
7 It could be good for graft. (5)
8 and 1 across Things that show what might be in the picture with those who tend an also-ran, and those who clean up? (It's for grasping people!) (7,7,6,7)
14 Employ violent methods, first to last as a spaceman. (6-3)
15 In one sense you might be pleased by it. (9)
17 The westerner Jim didn't exactly make things cross! (7)
18 Getting gradually lean? (7)
20 The halting steps of people in some families? (5)
21 Certainly don't knock what's in the next old movie you see! (5)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 1309

ACROSS: 1 Withholding tax; 9 Niagara; 10 Demands; 11 Insist; 12 Overalls; 14 Twofold; 15 March; 17 Pique; 19 Branded; 21 Roadster; 23 Stairs; 25 Carioca; 26 and 21 down The Idle Rich; 27 Clothes hampers. DOWN: 1 Winding up; 2 Transit; 3 Headstone; 4 Lean; 5 Individual; 6 Gamer; 7 Annular; 8 Asks; 13 Double date; 15 Midstream; 16 Half-steps; 18 Quarrel; 20 Dwindle; 22 Sport; 24 Etch.

PERSONALS

SOCK IT TO ME—over 225 other underground buttons. **1/25c, 5/$1, 50/$5, 125/$10 and 1,000/$75.** Bumperstickers, beads and peace jewelry, too. Free catalogue to all! Free sample to stores. **A BIG-LITTLE STORE, 1077 Mission, San Francisco, Calif. 94103.**

DISCOVER an intriguing, fun way of meeting literate Jewish singles. FREE literature: **OPERATION MAZEL TOV, 663 Fifth Avenue, N. Y. C. 10022.**

REPEAL ALL ABORTION LAWS by improving your arguments. **Abolish All Abortion Laws, POB 36122, Los Angeles 90036.**

RECORDS

FREE 40 PAGE CATALOG offers hundreds of recordings of rare **Renaissance, Baroque and Classical music.** Some records priced as low as $1.00 each! All late recordings in stereo only. **MHS RECORDS, Box 932 NA, New York, N. Y. 10023.**

AGENTS WANTED

CHRISTMAS CARDS—Business and Personal. Customer's name imprinted. Earn unusually high commissions from this medium- and high priced line. No investment. No inventory. Free Sample Album. **Process Corp. (our 48th year), 3430 S. 54 Ave., Chicago, Ill. 60650.**

EDUCATIONAL

SUMMERHILL CAMP AND SCHOOL. Freedom with responsibility learning because it's exciting, not compulsory. Summer program: reading, math, nature, swimming, riding, camping, art, music, drama, group discussions. **OPEN COMMUNITY SCHOOL, Box 5N, Claverack, N.Y. 12513.**

SCHOOL AT KIRKRIDGE—On Appalachian Trail overlooking Poconos. Grades 10-11, Grade 12 (1970), boarding 20 boys, 16 girls. Intercultural, venturesome, non-denominational, liberal but seriously Christian, related to Kirkridge retreat-and-study center founded 1942. All-teach-all-learn community including expert teachers for college preparation, social relevance, late-teen self-realization. 85 miles from Manhattan and Philadelphia. Write **SCHOOL AT KIRKRIDGE, BOX 11, BANGOR, PENNSYLVANIA 18013. Phone: 215-581-8954.**

SERVICES

MOVING? Professional moving at competitive rates. Anytime, anywhere. Licensed, insured, experienced. **THE COVERED WAGON, ALgonquin 5-1788 (N.Y.C.)**

PUBLICATIONS

JUST OUT! The Third Book of the NATION'S BEST PUZZLES. Obtainable from **Frank W. Lewis, 119 Northway, Greenbelt, Md., 20770, $2. postpaid.** Special offer, all three books, 204 puzzles in all, $4 postpaid.

KNOW CANADA BETTER!

See world affairs from a different perspective!

Read **CANADIAN DIMENSION**

Independent, lively, and original. Canada's leading forum for radical thought.

$4.00 for eight large issues

Write to:

CANADIAN DIMENSION
P.O. Box 1413
Winnipeg 1, Manitoba, Canada

Advertising Rates

Classified: 74c a line (6 words) 3 line min.
Classified Display: $7.42 per inch (min.)
THE NATION, 333 Sixth Ave., N.Y. 10014
242-8400

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

FREE OFFER:

A while back we advertised the book you wanted as a free gift with your new subscription to The NATION. You meant to subscribe then BUT you left the magazine at a friend's house, or perhaps you clipped the ad and were just too busy—or too involved with political events—to follow up.

Here's a second chance. If you subscribe now, you will receive FREE any one of the following books. Pick one:

GRUENING OF ALASKA, ☐
by Sherwood Ross

THE DESTRUCTION OF CALIFORNIA, ☐
by NATION contributor Raymond F. Dasmann

UNLESS PEACE COMES, ☐
by Nigel Calder

PAX AMERICANA, ☐
by Ronald Steel

THE SOUTH AS IT IS, ☐
by John Dennett

AIR WAR: VIETNAM, ☐
by Frank Harvey

BETWEEN THE LINES, ☐
by NATION contributor Dan Wakefield

AMERICA'S VIETNAM POLICY: ☐
The Strategy of Deception
by Richard S. Herman and Richard B. Du Boff

HOW AMERICA VOTES IN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS, ☐
by NATION contributor Louis H. Bean

Send this coupon to:

THE NATION 333 Sixth Avenue New York, N.Y. 10014

☐ I'll join you for 1 year (48 issues). Enclosed is $10. I've checked the book I want.

☐ I'll try you for 6 months (24 issues). Enclosed is $6. (Add $1 postage for Canada & Mexico; $2 other foreign)

Name .....

Street .....

City ..... State ..... Zip .....

N 9-1

The good fight is now in THE NATION —Why not join now?

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED